SIX LECTURES ON THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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ON THE

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

AND

THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS WHICH CONTAIN IT,

CHIEFLY ADDRESSED TO THOSE WHO DO NOT READ GREEK.

By F. H. SCRIVENER, M.A., LL.D.,

RECTOR OF ST. GERRANS.

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LECTURE I.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS AND GENERAL VIEW OF THE SUBJECT.

I AM much afraid that some of those to whom I am about to address a course of Lectures on the Sacred Text, and especially on the ancient manuscripts, of the New Testament, will think that I might easily have chosen a more popular and interesting subject, however highly they may be disposed to estimate its importance as a branch of theological study. Nor am I much encouraged by the representations of a pious and learned person who has recently laboured, not quite unsuccessfully, over a new version of the inspired writings, and who frankly uses the following language in describing his own impressions respecting this kind of work: "In the translation I could feel delight—it gave me the word and mind of God more accurately: in the critical details there is much labour and little food" (J. N. Darby, *N. T.*, *Preface*). Much labour and little fruit is no very cheering prospect for any one, and I should utterly despair of gaining the attention of my hearers after so plain an intimation of what they have to expect, unless the experience of a life-time had assured me that this good man's opinion is the very

reverse of the truth. Is it a small reward for any toil we may have spent upon the investigation to discover the process by which the Scriptures have been handed down to us through threescore generations and more, or the grounds of our assurance that in their present condition the copies which are now preserved are, in the main, not unfair representations of the originals as they left the hands of the holy penmen? Is it nothing to possess an intelligent, even though it be but a general knowledge, of the critical principles whereby, in doubtful cases, the genuine words of the Apostles and Evangelists can be discriminated from the accretions of later times, often and in nearly all capital instances to a moral certainty, always with a degree of probability adequate for practical purposes? Nor need the labour be excessive, or the strain on the attention unduly prolonged. The science of verbal or *Textual* criticism (for by this name, perhaps, it is best known) has nothing in its nature which ought to be thought hard or abstruse, or even remarkably dry and uninviting. It is conversant with varied and curious researches, which have given a certain serious pleasure to many accomplished minds: it is a department of knowledge in which it is peculiarly easy to learn a little well, and to apply what is learnt to immediate use. The more industry is brought to bear upon it, the larger the stores of materials accumulated, so much the more trustworthy the results have usually proved, although beyond question the full and true application both of its facts and principles calls for discretion, keenness of intellect, innate tact ripened by constant use, a sound and impartial judgment. No man ever attained

to eminence in this, or in any other worthy pursuit, without much trouble and some natural aptitude for it: but the criticism of the New Testament is a field which the humblest student of Holy Writ may cultivate with profit to himself and others; it is capable of affording those who have not much time to bestow upon working it, both an early and an abundant reward for their pains. Such is the testimony which more than thirty years' happy devotion to these studies might have given me some right to bear, were not this a matter upon which every person will inevitably judge for himself. To your verdict the appeal must ultimately be made, and I have a cheerful hope that it will be a favourable one, for the divine science whose claims upon your regard I am thus earnestly pressing. I make with you but a single condition, that I shall be fortunate enough to win your attention to a few simple preliminary considerations, the plain and indeed necessary consequence of which may not hitherto have been duly weighed, even by some who are no strangers to the bare facts of the case.

2. The several writings of the New Testament were published to the world at various times during the latter part of the first century of the Christian era; the art of printing was first practised in some German city in the middle of the fifteenth century: the first fruit of typography, the beautiful Latin Bible known as Cardinal Mazarin's, of which we have a copy in the British Museum, appeared at Mentz scarcely before A.D. 1455. During that long period of fourteen hundred years, through the fading light of the decline of ancient literature, through the deep gloom of the middle

ages, even till the dawn of better days had almost brightened into the morning sunshine of the revival of learning, Holy Scripture was preserved and its study kept alive in the same way as were the classical writings of Greece and Rome, by means of manuscript copies made from time to time as occasion required, sometimes by private students, more often by professional scribes called *calligraphers* or fair-hand writers, who were chiefly though by no means exclusively members of religious orders, priests or monks, carrying on their honourable and most useful occupation in the *scriptorium* or writing-chamber of their convents. And here I must say in passing, that whensoever the mind shall attempt to strike a balance between the good and ill effects of the monastic system during the thousand years and more which separated the Council of Nice from the dayspring of the Reformation, this one great service rendered by ecclesiastical communities ought to be thankfully remembered, that to their wise diligence we owe, under Providence, all or nearly all that we know, not of the Bible only, but of those precious remains of profane literature, which so powerfully tend to illustrate our study of the sacred volume, and to enhance, even by way of contrast, its priceless value.

3. Thus then it appears that the several books of the New Testament come down to us through the middle ages by means of manuscript copies. Hence arises a grave and important enquiry, on the correct solution of which our whole subject depends. Whensoever a book issues forth from the printing-press, all exemplars of the same edition resemble each other in the minutest particulars, except in the rare instances in which

changes have been deliberately introduced as the work goes on; when once that work is printed off, it remains unaltered as though it had been graven with an iron pen upon the rock for ever. On the contrary, in transcribing with the hand from another document no such perfect similarity between the copy and the original can be depended upon, nor, in the vast majority of instances, does it actually exist. No transcript of any considerable length can well be found which does not differ from its prototype in some small points, and that in spite of all the care and skill which may have been engaged in producing it. Some of the original words or letters will have been mistaken by the copyist, or his eye may have wandered from one line to another, or he may have omitted or repeated whole sentences, or have fallen into some other hallucination for which he would find it hard to account even to his own mind. Human imperfection will be sure to mar the most highly-finished performance, and to leave its mark on the most elaborate efforts after accuracy. Now it is obvious that the pernicious effects of this natural fault will propagate themselves rapidly, when several transcripts have to be taken from the same original by different persons, or by the same person at different periods; and that when the original shall have disappeared, and these several copies shall have become the parents of other copies made independently of each other, the process of deterioration may be carried on for many generations, each separate transcript having its characteristic failings, until two several manuscripts, which sprang from the same progenitor a thousand years before, may come to differ from each other very materially,

and that without any other blame to be imputed to the many scribes who have been employed upon them, save that they were not exempt from the common failings of humanity. It is thus that variations between different copies of the classical authors have arisen—*various readings* they are usually called—which sometimes affect the writer's general sense but little, and may safely be disregarded by the majority of readers, while occasionally, as in the dramas of the Greek tragedian Æschylus, they prove a serious drawback to our enjoyment of the most sublime passages of a prince among poets.

4. And now comes a still closer and more searching question. These natural blemishes and imperfections which prevail in all extant copies of all other works of antiquity, do they extend their baneful influence to manuscripts of Holy Scripture also? We must, of course, confess that, respect being had to the vast importance of preserving a pure text of the sacred writers, the answer might well be looked for in the negative, if we closed our senses to existing facts. God might, beyond a doubt, have so guided the hand or fixed the devout attention of successive races of copyists, that no jot or tittle should have been changed in the Bible of all that was first written therein. But this result could have been brought about only in one way, so far as we can perceive,—by nothing short of a continuous, unceasing miracle: by making fallible men, nay, many such in every generation, for one purpose absolutely infallible. That the Supreme Being should have thus far interfered with the course of His Providential arrangements, seems, prior to experience, very improbable, not

at all in accordance with the analogy of His ordinary dealings with mankind, while actual experience amply demonstrates that He has not chosen thus to act. If we look, however slightly, into the manuscript copies of the New Testament which abound in every public library in Christendom, we shall find them differing not a little from each other in age and correctness and purity of text, yet the oldest and the very best of them full of variations, such as we must at once impute to the fault of the scribe, together with certain here and there of a graver and more perplexing nature, regarding which we can form no safe judgment without calling to our aid the resources of critical learning. As in the case of the classical writings, so with those of the sacred penmen, the great mass of these various readings are in themselves quite insignificant, and scarcely affect the sense at all; while some to which your special attention will be directed hereafter, are of a widely different complexion. But important or not, the more numerous and venerable the documents within our reach, the more extensive is our view of them. Our great Oxford critic, Dr John Mill, computed them at thirty thousand for the New Testament alone a hundred and seventy years ago: those noted up to the present epoch amount to at least fourfold that quantity.

5. You will, I trust, ere this, have come to understand the nature and conditions of the problem which Textual criticism sets itself to solve. It is no less than this:—how best to clear all existing copies of Scripture, whether in manuscript or printed, from the errors and corruptions of later times, and to restore it if possible to the condition in which it first left the hands of the

original authors. If an autograph of S. John's Gospel, for example, or of S. Paul's epistle to the Romans, as it came from his secretary Tertius (Rom. xvi. 22), were yet in existence, criticism would have no function to perform with regard to those inspired productions, except to compare modern reprints with the precious originals. But, in spite of vague rumours in a contrary sense, it can hardly be doubted that the sacred autographs perished in the very infancy of Christian history. The early Church, which was privileged to enjoy the oral teaching of Apostles and Apostolic men, attached no peculiar sanctity to their written compositions. Add to this the circumstance that the "paper," or prepared leaf of the papyrus, spoken of by S. John (2 John 12), which was the usual material employed by scribes at that period, is of so frail and brittle a quality that almost no specimens of it have been preserved, save those that have lain long buried in Egyptian tombs, and other like safe receptacles. Vellum, the manufactured skin of young calves or antelopes, on which all our best manuscripts were subsequently written, was in S. Paul's age reserved for documents or records of exceptional value; "bring with thee," he writes to Timothy, "the books" (of the *biblus* or *papyrus* plant), "but especially the parchments" (2 Tim. iv. 13). And the self-same fate which befell the autograph books of the New Testament was that also of the earliest copies derived from them, though for a different reason. In the last and most cruel of the persecutions to which believers were subjected throughout the Roman empire, I mean that of Diocletian, during a shameful period of ten years at the beginning of the fourth century of our era (A.D. 303—312), the tyrant,

being resolved, so far as in him lay, to root out the Christian Faith, with a true instinct directed his efforts to the destruction of the Christian Scriptures. They were everywhere sought out and burnt; those who possessed them were bidden to give them up, and that on pain of death. The timid brethren who so far complied with the Imperial decrees composed a class numerous enough to be designated by a special name of dishonour: they were called "deliverers up," *traditores*, of which term our English *traitor* is the suitable representative. The result was deplorable enough, though in God's mercy the worst effects of the enemy's malice were frustrated. When the Church had rest again, the volumes of Holy Scripture that could be got together were comparatively few. But these were made the archetypes of a host of others, some of them now surviving, whose date may be assigned with certainty to the fourth and fifth centuries. The orderly succession of copy after copy was never broken, although it may be fairly doubted whether any, and certainly but a few inconsiderable fragments of the New Testament still extant, are older than the fiery reign of Diocletian.

6. We are thus compelled by the force of truth to admit that a wide space of little less than three centuries separates the lost autographs of Apostles and Evangelists from the earliest manuscripts of their works in full yet remaining to us. A vital question is yet to be answered, how this yawning gulf is to be bridged over, and the continuity restored between what they wrote and what we receive? We are thankful to know that our reply to this reasonable enquiry is at once brief, simple, and wholly satisfactory. We have two

other distinct sources of information, besides the evidence of Greek manuscripts, whereby the condition of the inspired text during the first three centuries can be readily ascertained, not indeed in complete detail, as manuscripts would have enabled us to do, but to an extent amply sufficient for all practical ends, quite enough to assure us of their general integrity, and of the reverence in which they were held in the first ages of the Faith:—and these are primitive versions of their text, and quotations made from them by ecclesiastical writers whose productions yet remain with us. The precise character of the proof afforded us from these sources will most conveniently be dwelt upon in another Lecture; all I now seek is to impress upon your minds their exceeding value for illustrating the literary history of those remote ages, for which direct documentary evidence has failed us. Nor is the great general service they render us in this respect materially impaired by certain peculiarities to be detailed hereafter, which render it peculiarly necessary to sift their testimony before implicitly receiving it on every point: still less by the fact that manuscripts of the translations of Scripture into Syriac, Coptic, Latin and other ancient tongues, like those of the original Greek and of the Fathers of the Church, themselves bear no higher date than the fourth century, and in the great majority of cases are considerably later. It is enough to know that their evidence is entirely independent of the later Greek copies, and has never been assimilated to them since each primitive version was first made or each Patristic work first published. Hence it arises that manuscripts of the Old Latin or Syriac, though themselves of the

fourth or fifth century, express and unmistakeable quotations made by Irenæus in the second, by Origen in the third century, present us for the passages actually before us with a representation of the readings known to them, as reliable as if the Greek text which they used had survived to this day.

7. It is time to return from a necessary digression to describe the manuscript copies of the Greek New Testament itself, which will claim our attention for the remainder of the present, and in the two next ensuing Lectures. After all, antiquity has bequeathed to us nothing else that can be compared with them for interest and intrinsic worth: they have been called by some one "the title deeds of our Christian inheritance," and well do they deserve the name. Now it is very memorable that written copies of the Greek Scriptures, including those of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, far exceed in age and number those of all the classical writings of antiquity put together. Homer may be supposed to have flourished at least eight hundred years before Christ, yet we have no complete copy of his two great poems prior to the thirteenth century, although some considerable fragments of the Iliad have been recently brought to light, which may plausibly be assigned to the fifth or sixth: while more than one work of deserved and high repute has been preserved to our times only in a single transcript. The case of the Hebrew Scriptures is yet more remarkable. Careful as the Jews have been, at least from the period that their Masoretic notes were formed, and probably long before, to secure minute accuracy in the act of transcribing their sacred books,

none of their extant manuscripts can be regarded as older than the eleventh century, and only a few are so old: the apparent reason for this unexpected fact being partly found in a Talmudical law which ordains that synagogue rolls which were faulty, torn, or injured through age, should be at once destroyed. Of the Christian Scriptures, on the contrary, we have several copies which may fairly be attributed to the fourth century, at least two with complete certainty; not a few must be assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries, after which time their number increased so prodigiously, down to the epoch of the invention of printing and a little beyond it, that those known at present to exist in public and private libraries throughout Christendom can hardly be less than from eighteen hundred to two thousand. With regard to manuscripts more recent than the tenth century it may truly be said that, the more they are sought for, the more come to light. The accumulated stores buried in the monasteries of Mount Athos, though they have been largely drawn upon in modern times, even after the sweeping raid made by that ardent collector, the late Lord de la Zouche, better known as the Hon. Robert Curzon, are no doubt very far from exhausted. I have been recently informed on excellent authority that in Roumania, the houses of the noble families whose ancestors fled from Constantinople before the last agony of the Imperial city are full of works both Biblical and theological which they brought with them to the land of their exile. From quite a different part of the Greek peninsula, from Janina in Epirus, the Baroness Burdett-Coutts has just imported a collection of Greek volumes dating from the ninth to

the seventeenth century, whereof between thirty and forty, being about a third part of the whole, relate to the New Testament. Their soiled and mutilated condition tells too plainly their recent history, as being poor reliques snatched from the sack of some Christian convent during the troubles which closed Ali Pasha's rule (A. D. 1822).

8. It will of course have occurred to you that the very abundance of these materials for sacred criticism may easily become a source of embarrassment to the Biblical student. "The real text of the sacred writers," to cite very well-known words of Richard Bentley, the greatest scholar England has produced, "does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any manuscript or edition, but is dispersed in them all." Yet to *collate* the whole mass, that is to compare their mutual variations with some common standard (usually a printed edition) which has been previously agreed upon, would be indeed an herculean task, to which not one life but many must needs be devoted, and which, even when completed, might not be very fruitful of important results. The plan that has been adopted thus far is to expend great pains and labour upon a comparatively small number of manuscripts the most venerable for age, or which otherwise promise to afford more help than the average for the correction of the text. Hence have originated those elaborate *facsimile* editions of the chief *codices* (*codex*, you will be aware, is the Latin word whereby a manuscript is called) by which Tischendorf and other critics have conferred on us signal benefit. Every line, every word, every error, every correction of the original scribe and his

successors, is carefully reproduced, so that the reader at a distance may be put as nearly as possible into the condition of the editor who is working with the manuscript before him. But it obviously would not do to stop here, or to leave the great mass of copies wholly unexamined. Conclusions arrived at by the deliberate shutting out of a large, indeed by far the larger portion of available evidence, must be eminently untrustworthy, and could not stand the test of time and impartial enquiry. Hence have several persons in successive generations undertaken to collate many of those documents of secondary value which it was not easy or perhaps desirable to publish in full. In this quiet and humble labour the pious Archbishop Ussher employed the doleful leisure of his later years, when reduced to silence in the evil days of the Great Rebellion. Our countryman Mill, Wetstein and Matthaei on the continent, to say nothing of the Dane Andrew Birch and other lesser names, willingly gave up ten, twenty, or thirty years together to this task. In our own time it has fired and prematurely worn out the energy of one never to be named but with respect and gratitude, Dr Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. I have striven hard myself to contribute what I have been able, not all I have desired and once hoped for, to the same good cause of sacred learning, and if life and health be granted me, I aspire to accomplish yet a little more. In their selection of manuscripts on which to work from the mass which still lie disregarded and virtually unknown, collators have naturally given the preference to such as seemed to them for some cause or other to possess special claims on their attention: yet as this motive would

operate but to a limited extent, I doubt not that my predecessors have mostly followed the same plan as myself, and have studied those copies first which lay nearest at hand, or to which they could obtain most ready access. In this way, at any rate, if we have sometimes taken up a manuscript of little interest or intrinsic value, we have presented to the reader only the more faithful specimen of what would result from a complete collation of the whole mass.

9. It now remains to shew the manner of discriminating really ancient codices, written in the fourth and two succeeding centuries, from others of comparatively recent date; and this matter is the more important, inasmuch as the older the manuscript, the fewer, in all probability, the successive transcripts between the sacred autograph and the document before us. Indeed we can do little towards forming any consistent notion of the history of the text until we shall have made some progress in fixing the age of the principal witnesses which attest to it. Not a few manuscripts have the year of the Greek era, and sometimes the proper Indiction of that year, appended by the original scribe in the colophon or subscription of the volume, and thus they form instructive guides for settling the epoch of others which more or less resemble them in style of writing. This advantage however does not attach to codices earlier than the ninth century, and we must dispense with its aid as we best can.

10. Our attention, therefore, should be directed in the first place to the shape and material of the document under investigation. There can be little doubt, as we said before, that the autographs of the

Apostles were written on the cheap and plentiful Egyptian papyrus, which was employed for most purposes in their day. Since this material was manufactured in slips which could seldom exceed four inches in breadth and a very few in length, it was the usual practice to join the short and narrow columns laterally, so that each piece might be parallel to each other piece



throughout the book, which was read by gradually unrolling the volume at one end and rolling it up at the other, just as the book of the Law is arranged to this day in the Jewish synagogues. In this manner, the open volume would afford the appearance of several parallel columns exhibited to the eye at once, as may be seen to this day in the Museum at Naples, in the case of the papyrus fragments rescued from the ruins of Herculaneum. As the more durable fine vellum of our oldest extant codices came gradu-

ally to take the place of the perishable papyrus in transcribing works so important as the Holy Scriptures, this practice of writing in parallel columns, which when the papyrus was used was a pure necessity, seems to have been for some time retained through mere habit, so that on vellum pages of the fourth century we still see three, and in one instance, four columns on a single page, or six and eight on the open leaf. This peculiarity, wheresoever it appears, is very striking, and lends to the document which exhibits it a genuine semblance of high antiquity.

Regard should be had also to the material, as well as to the shape of the volume under examination. As a general rule, the older the document, the more white, thin, and transparent is the vellum: we shall hereafter have to notice two or three books whose skins are conspicuous for their delicate beauty. As we come lower down in the scale of time, the fine vellum degenerates, until in the middle ages it is often no better than coarse parchment made from sheep's skins. Then again, about the ninth century, a rough, brown, unsightly paper, made of cotton rags, and sometimes called Damascene from the place where it was invented, crept gradually into use. For this, about the twelfth century, linen paper came to be substituted, which was at once stouter, more white and crisp, than that prepared from cotton: when glazed and well-wrought it is especially elegant, and by an unpractised eye can scarcely be distinguished from vellum.

Once more, we may fairly infer the high antiquity of a document, if it be what is called a *palimpsest*, that is, when for the sake of putting so precious a material

as vellum to the utmost use, the older writing which it contained has been washed out (a process all the more easy inasmuch as the ancient ink was purely vegetable, without any metallic base), and later matter put over it in its room. In course of time the earlier writing, which had never been entirely obliterated, will come again to the surface, and can thus be read beneath the more modern letters, and may be traced by an attentive and diligent student with more or less facility. Few employments call for so much patience, or task the eyesight and skill of a collator so much as this, but as it almost always happens that the older writing is by far the more valuable, he is pretty sure to find his labour rewarded in the end. In one or two known instances this habit of washing out the first written letters has been twice repeated, and to decipher a double *palimpsest* (as it is then termed) calls for the masterhood of a Tischendorf. When attempts have been made to revive the faded characters by means of such washes as prussiate of potash, the experiment has succeeded for a while, but the palimpsest has too often been rendered illegible ever after.

11. Another and more comprehensive method of approximating to the date of a manuscript is by scrutinizing the style of its writing. The oldest extant codices of formal works exhibit the whole text in capital or *uncial* letters, that name being derived from the Latin *uncia*, an inch, to which size some of them come very near. These uncial letters were originally written without stops or even breaks between the words, and look the more strange inasmuch as the words themselves are divided at the end of the neces-

sarily narrow lines without much regard to the syllables which compose them. Let us take for our example the opening of S. Luke's Gospel, wherein the sentence at first sight hardly looks like English.

FORASMUCHASMA
NYHAVETAKENIN
HANDTOSETFORTH

and so on. Our earliest extant model of writing of this kind has been preserved by means of that awful catastrophe which the genius of Lytton-Bulwer has made so familiar to us, the burial of the Campanian town of Herculaneum beneath a stream of lava, A. D. 79. The liberality of the kings of Naples (let us speak one good word for a dynasty at any rate not worse than that which has displaced it) has presented to scholars exact *facsimiles* of papyri, which, scorched and shrivelled as they are, and unfortunately comprising treatises of small interest in themselves, are the only undoubted volumes of the first century which have survived the wreck of time. Certain dissertations of the Epicurean Philodemus which they contain may be used the more conveniently, inasmuch as he was a contemporary of Cicero, and must have written about a century before the fatal event. After making due allowance for the papyrus having shrunk from the heat, these uncials attract the eye for their minuteness as well as for the elegance of their shape. They are authentic specimens of a fashion which prevailed in the first century of our era, the letters square, upright, simple, graceful, singularly clear, none being larger than the rest, or intruding into the margin, without

breathings or accents, the stops very rare and only a single point at the utmost, the clauses and sentences being separated from each other either by a very small space or not at all. Between these exquisite relics of the past and the earliest known manuscripts of Scripture little less than three centuries must have elapsed, yet we find that those Biblical codices which most resemble the Herculanean papyri are precisely such as for other reasons we should be led to judge the most ancient. In later ages, letters larger than the rest came gradually into use to serve the same purpose as our capitals at the beginning of sentences; subsequently they encroached upon the margin, and grew more conspicuous for size and illuminations; then the shape of the ordinary letters became more and more ornate, the words being separated from each other either by points or by blank spaces, as in modern writing. Then again, as time went on, punctuation became more heavy, and quite as complicated as what we now employ; breathings and accents were added, at first very irregularly, afterwards with as much uniformity and correctness as in a printed Greek book; and at length, about the ninth century, the letters themselves became no more upright but leaning, like our own handwriting, sometimes to the left, more frequently to the right. This was the last stage of uncial calligraphy, which, about the beginning of the tenth century or a few years before, gave way to the *cursive* or running hand, which had been employed all along for ordinary purposes, and was now deemed not unfit to be introduced into copies of Holy Scripture, even those which were most splendidly written on the finest

vellum, and were the most sumptuously furnished with pictures and arabesque scrolls set off in rich purple, vermilion and gold. The cursive style also had its stages and local fashions, not indeed so strongly marked as in the uncial, but well known to adepts; though it is not necessary for our present purpose to speak much about manuscripts which date as late as from the tenth century downwards.

12. I feel quite sure that, before I have done, some of my hearers will press upon me the awkward question whether we ought to be so very positive about the authenticity of these venerable monuments of remote antiquity, especially in an ingenious age, wherein some public and most private Museums are half full of pictures of "the Old Masters" executed by living hands, of spurious medals, and of flint implements made to order. Now on this point I should like to speak explicitly. I believe it to be quite feasible to pass off the forgeries of some clever and intelligent scribe, who may have devised means to imitate so closely the decaying vellum, the fading ink, the precise shape and fashion of primitive writings, as to deceive those who ought to be the best, as they are the most experienced, judges. Such a fraud is difficult, but is not impossible to be carried out; and if I am not mistaken, the archives of the British Museum itself contain some codices, bought at a high price, which never will appear in the Catalogue, or be submitted to public inspection. But while I freely grant that the outward semblance of ancient documents may be assumed by skilful manipulation, I am sure that their internal character will always defy imposture. Over and over

again it has been found that manuscripts which from their general appearance have been accepted without scruple, have been found at once to be spurious the moment their contents came to be scrutinized by competent scholars. Such was the case with the Egyptian History of Uranius the son of Anaximenes—a purely imaginary person—palmed upon the wise men of Berlin (one likes the Germans to be taken in sometimes) about twenty years ago by the notorious Constantine Simonides, a native of the Greek isle of Syme. As a work of the calligraphic art it is perfect, but the careful study of the subject-matter but for a few pages sufficed to shew its true nature. With respect to Biblical manuscripts in particular, we may confidently assert that there are fifty persons at least now in England, who on internal grounds alone, from their intimate knowledge of what a genuine record ought to and must contain, would at once detect with perfect ease any the most highly finished imitation that dishonest skill could execute, provided the document extended beyond the length of a very few lines.

Scholars too there are, especially if propitious fortune has cast their lot in the midst of those magazines of literary wealth, the chief public libraries, to whom ripe experience has imparted a kind of intuition, an instinctive faculty of discerning the true from the false at a moment's glance, for which they can scarcely assign a cause even to themselves: the eye in this case outstrips the slower conclusions of reason and of science. Some of you may be hearing for the first time of the single visit paid to Oxford

by that Constantine Simonides of whom we have already spoken. He had just then beguiled two celebrated Pundits indeed; Professor Lepsius of Berlin, and Sir Frederick Madden of the British Museum, when one morning, unintroduced and then unknown to fame, he presented himself at the Bodleian to Mr H. O. Coxe, now most worthily placed at the head of that magnificent library, as the bearer of certain Greek manuscripts which he seemed willing to sell. He produced two or three, unquestionably genuine, but not at all remarkable either for age or character, and readily agreed with the librarian in assigning them severally to the tenth, twelfth, or thirteenth centuries. He then proceeded to unroll, with much show of anxiety and care, some fragments of vellum, redolent of high antiquity, and covered with uncial writing of the most venerable form. Our wary critic narrowly inspected the crumbling leaves; smelt them, if haply they might have been subjected to some chemical process: then quietly handed them back to their vendor with the simple comment that these, he thought, might date from about the middle of the *nineteenth* century. The baffled Greek forthwith gathered up his wares, walked straight to the railway station, and bent his course to a well-known country-house in Worcestershire, whose accomplished owner became their happy purchaser. Under his hospitable roof I inspected those treasures a few weeks later, and must confess that, regarded as mere specimens of calligraphy, they were worth any moderate sum they may have cost him. There was Anacreon writ small so as to fit into a nutshell; portions of Hesiod in

zigzag fashion as the ox ploughs; and other curiosities more marvellous still, respecting whose price I could get no other answer than this from my courteous host, "I gave little enough for them if they are what I took them to be, a great deal too much if your suspicions are true."

The present Lecture has of necessity been devoted to the consideration of abstract principles or of broad and general facts. If you think that I have not yet proved against my will the melancholy allegation that my subject promises "much labour and little food," I will next ask leave to introduce to your notice a few of the precious manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures which are the pride and honour of the great libraries of Europe.

LECTURE II.

ON THE PRINCIPAL GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

OUR subject now leads me to present to you a general description of the principal Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. You are already aware that these documents are of the very highest value and importance when we come to examine the text of Holy Scripture. Hence, in the case of a few of them that hold the first rank, it will be necessary to enter into some details respecting their literary history, as well as the date and internal character of each, so far as these latter points can be made intelligible to a general company; premising that the uncial or elder codices are commonly distinguished from each other by the several letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, &c. Since what is called Codex A is inferior to two others both in age and intrinsic worth, we will place it but third in our list and begin with the world-renowned

CODEX B, the glory of the Vatican library at Rome, where its class mark is 1209. Whence it came thither, who were its previous owners, in what country it was written, are alike unknown to us, except that, from certain peculiarities in the spelling, Alex-

andria has been conjecturally assigned as its native place. All that can be said amounts to this, that the Vatican library was founded in 1448 by that eminent scholar and vigorous statesman Pope Nicolas V., and that this manuscript appears in the earliest extant catalogue, compiled in 1475. Until within the last fifteen years it was without a rival in the world, and Tischendorf's great discovery, the Codex Sinaiticus, which will be spoken of next in order, has not much disturbed its supremacy in the judgment of any one, unless we except that illustrious German Professor himself. Codex B is comprised in a single quarto volume containing 759 thin and delicate vellum leaves, and is so jealously guarded by the Papal authorities that ordinary visitors see nothing of it but the red morocco binding. We should not grudge the suspicious care of its custodians, knowing as we do full well the unique preciousness of their treasure, if they had not also withdrawn it from the use of persons the most competent to study it aright. The precautions taken against such a man as Tregelles, who, armed with a letter from Cardinal Wiseman, went to Rome in 1845 for the express purpose of consulting it, would be ludicrous if they were less discreditable. "They would not let me open the volume," he writes, "without searching my pockets, and depriving me of pen ink and paper." The two *prelati*, or dignified clergymen, who had been told off to watch him, would talk and laugh aloud in order to distract his attention, and if he looked at a passage too long, would abruptly snatch the book out of his hand. Dean Alford, who in 1861 must have been pretty well known even to Roman ecclesiastics,

states in a letter recently published by his widow in her pleasant *Life* of him, that having extorted from the minister Cardinal Antonelli a special order "per verificare," to verify passages, he found his license interpreted by the librarian to mean that he was to see the book, but not to use it. With these hindrances to contend against, aggravated by the fact that library hours in the Vatican are only three daily, and that its attendants devoutly keep all Italian Church holidays, we need not wonder if our acquaintance with this noble monument of extreme antiquity has long been superficial and imperfect, and to this hour is far from complete. It contains, as do the next three manuscripts we shall have to describe, the Old Testament in the Greek Septuagint translation as well as the original of the New, but the ravages of time have deprived us of the book of Genesis down to ch. xlvi. 48, of Psalms cv.—cxxxvii., and in the New Testament of the Epistle to the Hebrews from ch. ix. 14 to the end, of the four Pastoral Epistles as they are called (1, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon), which, in this and in the next three copies, were placed after that to the Hebrews, and finally of the Book of the Revelation; all these last portions being supplied in quite a modern hand of the fifteenth century. Every open leaf presents to the eye six narrow columns of simple, elegant and distinct uncial letters, three columns standing on each page, as we see in a fragment of the historian Dio Cassius also preserved in the Vatican, and in a very few other documents, mostly but not all of the same remote date; a date which, judging not only from the form of the volume, but also from the purity of the

vellum, from the faded condition of the ink wheresoever the letters have not been retouched, from the primitive shape of those letters themselves, from the complete lack of capitals and from the extreme paucity of the stops, in all which particulars it has very few compeers, and in the whole put together none whatever except the Herculanean papyri of the first century whereof we spoke before (p. 19), cannot be placed later than the first half of the fourth century. Indeed, Tregelles, a consummate and experienced authority on such matters, was so deeply impressed with the general appearance of Codex B, as being far more venerable than anything else he had ever seen, that he once told me, what I do not observe that he has ever published, that while he felt quite sure that it was already written at the time of the council of Nice (A.D. 325), he did not like to say how much earlier it might very well be. Throughout the New Testament it exhibits a division of the text into chapters or paragraphs (in the Acts and Epistles into two separate series) to which we have hardly anything corresponding elsewhere, and which in the Gospels became quite obsolete after the adoption of the sections and canons of Eusebius about A.D. 340, the year when that celebrated ecclesiastical writer and critic died. The mistaken diligence whereby the original writing has been retraced by a scribe who lived not earlier than the eighth or later than the eleventh century, and who added those breathings and accents and elaborate capitals which now deform the document, has rendered an accurate acquaintance with its true readings a matter of unusual difficulty, demanding and promising to reward the utmost care and

skill of an experienced collator. The work of the first hand can best be judged of in those places which the later pen has left untouched, as being or presumed to be errors of the pen, but the cases are probably very few wherein leisurely examination by a thorough scholar would leave any considerable doubt as to testimony of the original manuscript. The misfortune is that opportunities for such an exhaustive study of its contents have of late years been granted only to those who were quite incompetent to make the best use of them. We need not here repeat the curious history of the several attempts that have been made to collate the Vatican Codex, from the time that the Papal Librarian Paul Bombasius sent some account of it to the great Erasmus in 1521, down to the abortive Roman editions which vainly struggled for existence after the death of another Papal Librarian, Cardinal Mai, in 1854. That distinguished person, whose services rendered both to classical and ecclesiastical learning are justly renowned throughout Europe, devoted his scanty spare hours for ten whole years in carrying through the press five quarto volumes, professing to represent the contents of our manuscript both in the Old and New Testament. He subsequently added a reprint of the New Testament portion in a cheap octavo form. Yet although his main work, to which the interest of Christendom had been invited by many a puff preliminary, had been completed as early as 1838, it was not published till three years after the Cardinal's death, and it was then perceived at once by those who had any knowledge of the subject, that it never would have appeared so long as he lived. If Angelo Mai had neither

the patience nor the special skill to accomplish well his self-imposed task, he was far too good a scholar not to know that he had done it very ill: so ill in fact that it would be hard to account for his numberless blunders and glaring incompetency did we not remember that Biblical criticism, by reason of the rigid impartiality and exactness that it calls for, is so alien to the taste and mental habits fostered by the theology of the Church of Rome, that examples are rare indeed wherein it has been cultivated in her communion with even moderate success: from among living names, Ceriani, curator of the Ambrosian library at Milan, occurs to the memory as a solitary exception. The untrustworthy character of Mai's attempt was manifest from the first, yet it was not till nine years after, in 1866, that the dauntless Tischendorf resolved to represent its demerits to Pius IX. in person, and to seek from him permission to undertake a fresh and more satisfactory edition, at least of the New Testament. The Pope could not deny the substantial truth of his impeachment, but evaded the heretic's request by declaring that he reserved a better edition as a work for himself to carry out, while yet he gracefully allowed Tischendorf to consult the manuscript in such passages—and they are pretty many—as present any special difficulty, or respecting which previous collators had been at variance. For eight days our critic freely enjoyed this valued privilege, but in the course of his task he could not refrain—few of us perhaps could have refrained—from copying at length sixteen of these precious pages. Such a licence being not unnaturally regarded as a breach of covenant, the

manuscript was then taken from him, but on appealing to the generosity of Vercellone, to whom the Pope had entrusted the care of the projected work, he was permitted to resume his labours for six days more, the Italian being always present at this latter period, and receiving instruction for the preparation of his own volumes by watching the processes of a master workman. In spite of all his disadvantages, these fourteen days of just three hours each, used zealously and intelligently, enabled Tischendorf to put forth a representation of Codex B far superior to any that preceded it. Five superb volumes of the Roman edition have since appeared, whereof the genial and learned Vercellone lived long enough to superintend two, that containing the New Testament happily being one. The rest have fallen into other and obviously less skilful hands. The concluding volume, which may perhaps be looked for in the course of the present year, will be that which is at once the most important, and will test most decisively the capacity of the editors; it is that which will attempt to discriminate the original readings of the manuscript from the corrections of later scribes. If we trace in this department of their labours anything approaching to critical discernment we may rest content for the present, and await that unrestrained access to the document which future and hardly distant events will not fail to gain for Biblical students. It is not very pleasant to reflect that, during the most brilliant period of the first French Empire, this great treasure was deposited for years in the Royal Library at Paris, unexamined and uncared for save by one who proved hardly able

to do its merits complete justice, the Roman Catholic J. L. Hug, whose treatise on the "Antiquity of the Vatican Manuscript," which appeared in 1810, first attracted general attention to its remote date and paramount importance, although Tischendorf pithily observes that he adopts its conclusions "non propter Hugium sed cum Hugio," in Hug's company, though not for the reasons assigned by him. But the internal characteristics of Codex B will be more conveniently discussed together with those of its most considerable rival, which stands next on our list, namely

CODEX SINAITICUS, at St Petersburg, rather awkwardly designated as *Aleph* (א), the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet. This manuscript was happily lighted upon by Tischendorf in the Convent of St Catharine on Mount Sinai only fifteen years ago. The history of its discovery is so romantic as to have seemed at first almost incredible, but there is no reason to doubt that the first accounts that reached the public ear were in the main correct. When travelling in 1844 under the patronage of his own sovereign, Frederick Augustus of Saxony, a bountiful friend of learning and of learned men, Tischendorf states that he picked out of a basket full of papers destined to light the Convent oven, some forty-three leaves of the Greek Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, whose high antiquity he recognised at a glance, and which he published in 1846 under the name of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus. These leaves he got at once for the asking, but finding that further portions of the same manuscript still survived, he rescued them from their probable fate by giving the monks some notion of their value. He repeated his

visit to Sinai in 1853, hoping that he might be allowed to purchase the whole volume; but his hints had alarmed the brotherhood, and he could gather no further information about it. He even seems to have concluded that his prize had been secured by some more fortunate collector and had already been carried away into Europe. Returning to the Convent once more early in 1859, no longer as an obscure private traveller, but as an accredited agent of the Emperor of Russia, the gracious protector of the Eastern Church, the treasure which he had twice missed was, on the occasion of some chance conversation, spontaneously laid before him. Mutilated as the Codex then was, it still consisted of more than 300 large leaves of the finest vellum, with four columns on every page and eight on the open leaf, containing, besides certain portions of the Septuagint version, the whole New Testament, followed by the Epistle of Barnabas and a considerable fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas, two works of the Apostolic age or of that which immediately followed it, which were read in the Church Service as Scripture up to the latter part of the fourth century. Tischendorf touchingly describes his surprise, his joy, his midnight studies over the priceless book—for indeed it seemed a sin to sleep on that memorable 4th of February 1859. The rest was easy; he was allowed to transfer his prize to Cairo, to copy it there, and ultimately to take it to Russia, as a tribute of duty and gratitude to Alexander II. The Russian Emperor's munificence enabled him in 1862 to publish a costly edition of the manuscript, partly in facsimile, with an elaborate Introduction and critical notes.

The remote locality of its present resting-place,

and some little difficulty in obtaining access experienced by visitors at St Petersburg, have rendered us largely dependent on Tischendorf's own representations for our knowledge of the Codex Sinaiticus. Yet Tregelles and other very competent judges examined it carefully when it was for a while at Leipsic in Tischendorf's possession, and never entertained a doubt that it was a genuine relic of the fourth century, though not, as its discoverer seemed to imagine, more ancient than its competitor at the Vatican. Almost every mark of extreme age which we noticed in the latter, may be seen also in the copy at St Petersburg:—the papyrus-like arrangement of several columns on the open leaf; the singular fineness of the material, which consists of the skins of young antelopes; the extreme simplicity of the characters employed; the total absence of capitals (although in both an initial letter occasionally stands a little out of the line after a break in the sense), of breathings and accents; the rare occurrence even of the single stop. While the presence of those venerable uncanonical books of Barnabas (whose Greek text is here read complete for the first time these thousand years) and of Hermas' Shepherd might seem to indicate a prior date for the Sinaitic, yet, on the other hand, the peculiar chapters of the Vatican book have now made room for the Eusebian sections and canons, which are placed in the margin of the Gospels in their accustomed vermilion ink, if not by the original writer (for the rubricator was seldom the same person as the scribe), yet certainly by a contemporary. The age of Codex Aleph is thus brought down to the middle of the

fourth century, though it is not at all necessary, or indeed reasonable, to refer it to a later generation than that in which Eusebius flourished.

The strangest part of this remarkable story has yet to be told. You remember Constantine Simonides, of Syme, his History of Uranius the son of Anaximenes, and his bootless visit to the Bodleian. Certain of his earlier misadventures had brought him into collision with Tischendorf, to whose researches he had first rendered some real aid, and whom he subsequently but in vain endeavoured to deceive. No sooner had the German issued in 1860 his earliest facsimiles of Codex Sinaiticus than Simonides at once declared that venerable monument of early Christianity to be the work of his own hands; making merry, as you may suppose, with those self-called critics, who after rejecting the old manuscripts in his possession as modern forgeries, had proved ignorant enough to receive as genuine remains of extreme antiquity a book innocently copied by a youth who neither wished to mislead, nor had imagined that its true character could be mistaken by any one. Like the gay old beadsman in Scott's *Antiquary* Simonides "minded the bigging" of this marvellous relic of long-past ages, and was in truth himself the builder. Among the many accomplishments of his pregnant wit, he alleged that he was gifted with exquisite skill as a calligrapher, and on this point at any rate there can be no mistake. Hence he was naturally selected by his uncle Benedict, head of the monastery of Panteleemon ("the All-merciful") on Mount Athos, whom he went to visit in November, 1839, to make in manuscript, from a printed Moscow Bible, a copy of the whole Scriptures, which might

be worthy of the acceptance of the Russian Emperor Nicolas, in dutiful acknowledgment of benefits he had conferred on that house. The letters were uncial, the material vellum, the style antique. He had gone through both the Old and New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas and the first part of Hermas, and would have added the whole of the Apostolic Fathers, but that in August 1840 his materials failed and his uncle died. He therefore broke off his task by simply writing an inscription purporting that "the whole was the work of Simonides," and though he retained the dedication to the Emperor in the beginning of the volume, he found another patron in Constantius, ex-Patriarch of Constantinople and Archbishop of Sinai, who in 1841 accepted the gift in a fatherly letter, with which he sent his benediction and 25,000 piastres, some £250 sterling. In 1844 Simonides heard from the lips of Constantius himself that he had long since sent the Codex to St Catharine's on Mount Sinai, where the scribe saw his own work in 1844 and again in 1852.

It is humiliating to recall the circumstances of the controversy which ensued in England, where our Greek was then sojourning, for elsewhere the fable was received with blank and absolute incredulity. One of our so-called religious periodicals, which we will name, if you please, "The Illiterate Churchman," without absolutely committing itself to the correctness of Simonides' statement, persisted to the last in regarding it as a matter demanding the gravest investigation. That love of Biblical study, which is the glory of our nation, leads many to take a deep interest in this class of

subjects who have received no such special training as would enable them unassisted to form a true estimate of the facts of a case like this: not to mention the honest prejudice excited, as the controversy went on, in favour of a stranger who was single-handed and obviously over-matched. It soon appeared, however, that living witnesses on his behalf he could produce none. Constantius the ex-Patriarch, whose evidence would have been unexceptionable, had died only the year before (1859): a prelate so liberal in rewarding the labours of a poor student was plainly not long for this world. The monks at Mount Sinai, including him who had been librarian from 1841 to 1858, protested that they had seen or heard of no such person as Simonides; and declared that the manuscript had been duly entered in the ancient catalogues. For anything that appears to the contrary, it might have been brought thither at the foundation of the monastery by the Emperor Justinian, about A.D. 530, though by what means those precious leaves which comprise the Codex Friderico-Augustanus came into the place where Tischendorf found them is as perplexing as ever to account for. When the story of Simonides came to be more closely examined, and its internal probabilities minutely scrutinized, nothing came to light which could compensate for its lack of external support. In the first place it was observed that at the period when he undertook, in November, 1839, what must certainly be regarded as a considerable task, he could only have been fifteen years old, since it is stated in his *Life* written by one Mr Steuart but circulated by himself that he was born "about the hour of sunrise, Nov. 11, 1824." This date,

however, was soon explained to be an error: it was, he alleged, the birthday of his brother Photius, his own being four years earlier, on "Nov. 5, 1820, the sixth hour before noon," and he supports this suspicious correction by publishing a letter he wrote to Mr Steuart, pointing out the mistake, dated in January 1860, before he laid claim to the authorship of Codex Sinaiticus. Another difficulty, started at the time, which does not involve the credibility of a second person, you will form your own judgment about. It is easy to reckon that our manuscript, when complete, must have consisted of no less than 700 leaves or 1400 pages of considerable size, and that to have finished it as Simonides declares he did within the space of eight or nine months, he must have written at least twenty thousand large and separate uncial letters every day. When this fact was represented to him, the Greek frankly acknowledged it, and offered to execute the same task again for the modest stake of £10,000. Wagers, we know, are not wise men's arguments, and no one was found weak enough to close with his proposal; yet before we pronounce his success impossible, we should bear in mind the wonderful exploit of a certain "Nicodemus the stranger," who records in a manuscript containing both the Old and New Testament, recently seen at Ferrara by Mr Burgon, that beginning his work (certainly in the cursive or running hand, not in uncials) on the 8th day of June, he ended it on the 15th day of July 1334, "working very hard" he adds, which beyond question he must have done. Could Briareus the hundred-handed have achieved more?

But in truth it is useless to waste words about

the mere accessories of the case, when the main issue is so plain and unmistakeable. It is absolutely impossible that the best scholar in Europe—to say nothing of a lad of fifteen or nineteen,—could have drawn from a modern Moscow Bible, or from any other source at that time open, the sort of text which is exhibited in the Codex Sinaiticus. In many respects that text is questionable enough, but it is evidently very ancient and unique in its faults no less than in its excellencies. In not a few places we find a few words left out, whose omission reduces the passage to mere nonsense, but which would just fill up a line in an old papyrus, the error being palpably due to the shifting of the copyist's eye from one line to the next: accidents like these making it clear that the scribe had before him for his model no printed book, but a roll answering to the manuscript line for line. Then again, Codex ℵ is full of *itacisms*, that is, of instances of false spelling, especially through the substitution of one vowel or diphthong for another which in process of time had grown to resemble it in sound. In this respect it agrees more or less with every other genuine Greek manuscript known to us, especially those of very remote date, but then these orthographical blunders have no place in printed works, and no sane copyist would have introduced them save for the purpose of deception, whereas the charge of fraud is here excluded by the nature of the case. Simonides assures us that he had no thought of misleading any one:—it is through mere ignorance and stupidity on the part of Tischendorf and the rest of us who call ourselves scholars or critics that his exercise in penmanship has been mistaken for a

real relic of antiquity! But it cannot be necessary to pursue this enquiry into further detail, and it shall be dismissed with one word about the person whose strange history has detained you so long. Those of us who had pressed him the hardest were rather shocked to learn in 1867 that Constantine Simonides had just perished at Alexandria of the cruel disease of leprosy:—he had died and given no sign! Proportionably great was our relief about two years after to be told on the authority of the Rev. Donald Owen of St Petersburg that he had turned up again under a feigned name in that capital, where we will gladly leave him in the hope that, like Psalmanazar, he has found grace and time to amend his ways. You will all know something of George Psalmanazar, who appeared in London as a foreigner above a century ago, and proved quite as clever and rather more successful than our Simonides. The poor man pretended to be a native of the Chinese island of Formosa, and published a most plausible description of that country, its religion, customs, and manners: he even devised a new alphabet and a new language, and translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into Formosan. Very few doubted his integrity, and to those few he triumphantly replied in the Preface to a second edition "answering everything that had been objected against the author and the book." At length came remorse, then contrition, then reparation as its meet fruit. Who and whence he was have never been clearly ascertained, nor ought we to be curious about what he had a right to conceal if he pleased. But his fraud was publicly recanted: henceforth he earned his bread by honest labours of

his pen, and long before his death in 1763 his meek and simple piety had power to edify even Dr Johnson, who hated a lie as he hated the father of lies.

Our digression fairly ended, we come at length to consider the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, each of them productions of the fourth century of the Christian era, in reference as well to the resemblances as to the contrasts exhibited by their text. In both respects they are very peculiar, and will call for and (as I hope) be found to repay our best attention. Codex א, as was manifest on our first acquaintance with it, is very roughly written, being full of gross transcriptural blunders of the pen, of the eye, and of the mind: the habit I mentioned just now, that of leaving out whole lines of the original whence it was derived, is but one specimen of an over numerous class. It was long supposed that Codex B was singularly free from slips of this kind, and inferences were freely drawn from its presumed accuracy which will no longer be pressed. It is certainly less faulty than its compeer, but the labours of Tischendorf and Vercellone have brought to light much of this sort, that was hitherto unsuspected. It is especially prone to the kind of error we recently termed an *itacism*, that of confounding similar vowel sounds to the ruin of the sense, especially in the instance of the Greek pronouns, personal or possessive, of the first and second persons plural, in which case its evidence is worth almost nothing. We will take just one example by way of specimen, the rather as certain critics of great eminence have perceived a certain subtil excellence in a variation which to us appears utterly void of meaning: it is our Lord's question in

Luke xvi. 12, "If ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give unto you that which is your own?" Codex B, supported by one other uncial manuscript and by scarcely any other authority, changing a single letter in the Greek, as in the English, would have us read "who will give unto you that which is our own?" Here, of course, the *itacism* is patent to every one who is not ready to admit the principle that when the Vatican has spoken, the world has only to believe in silence; or who has not come to regard the very defects of that document as beauties, just like the lover in Horace did those of his mistress. No less improbable is an addition found a few chapters later, which is countenanced by Codex B and the self-same uncial (Cod. L of the eighth or ninth century) and by hardly any other evidence. In Luke xxi. 24, where our Lord declares that "Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," these authorities add "and they shall be," without any tolerable significance, so far as we can perceive, the words "and they shall be," with which the next verse begins, being here repeated out of their proper order. Nay, even such a glaring blunder as the corruption of the Greek letter K into N in Matth. xxvii. 28 has not been without its apologists; yet there, in the room of "And they stripped him," Codex B and a very few witnesses of real importance would have us substitute "And they clothed him," thus rendering the verse completely unintelligible. One or two other instances of the same nature shall be added, and that from no wish to disparage the Codex Vaticanus or to depose it from its rightful place at the head of all our

textual authorities, but to shew that, like its less distinguished compeers, it is liable to err and has committed errors of the most palpable character. At the end of the eleventh chapter of the Acts, Barnabas and Saul are represented as going up from Antioch to Judæa, carrying with them to the Church there the contributions of the Syrian disciples for its relief. Then follows, evidently in the order of time, that interesting narrative respecting the deliverance of Peter from prison by the angel, the death of the persecutor Herod, and the growth and prosperity of the infant Church. The concluding verse of the twelfth chapter, in perfect consistency with the whole narrative, accordingly runs on thus: "And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry," or service. Instead of "from Jerusalem" the impossible variation "to Jerusalem" appears in Codex B and its familiar associate L, and not in them only in this case, but also in the Codex Sinaiticus, and indeed in so many other considerable authorities that we ought not to refuse to accept their testimony, if any testimony could suffice to convince us of the truth of a moral impossibility. The same three manuscripts Codd. ℵ, B, L, with two other uncials of great value (D and Δ, which we shall describe hereafter) and two cursive copies of some importance, by the simple change of two letters, thus transforming the feminine pronoun into the masculine, in Mark vi. 22, both set at defiance contemporary history and violate every dictate of reason and natural feeling. You remember the shocking details of the murder of John the Baptist. Herodias, as we learn from Josephus, who

knew the facts well and was living at the time, was married to her uncle Herod Philip and had by him a daughter named Salome, "after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of her country, and divorcing herself from her husband, went through the form of a marriage with another Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, her husband's brother on the father's side" (*Jewish Antiquities*, Book XVIII. Chap. v. § 4). In her wicked resolution to avenge herself on the Baptist, who was ever rebuking the tetrarch for their common sin, she even allowed her daughter to dance before Herod and his nobles on his birth-day: "the daughter of the said Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod," as our common Bibles have it. The Vatican manuscript, however, upheld by the six others we have enumerated, would read "his daughter Herodias came in," &c., thus at once displaying ignorance of the poor girl's lamentable history, changing her name from Salome into Herodias, and imputing to the tetrarch feelings which not even a Herod would have been base enough to cherish in the case of his own child, for no European can conceive the infamy implied when a royal maiden took part in the abominable dances which defile an Eastern festival. Here we have the teachings of history set at nought by these weighty critical authorities. In the very next chapter (Mark vii. 31) geography would fare just as ill if the selfsame five uncial copies, two cursives and even a version or two, sufficed to persuade us that the Lord, on leaving the borders of Tyre, where he had just healed the Syrophœnician woman's daughter, "came through Sidon to the sea of Galilee," a progress which may fairly be compared

to that of a traveller who leaving London should pass through Oxford to Dover. The ordinary text, as you need not be told, is perfectly consistent in representing the Saviour's course: "and again, departing from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the sea of Galilee."

In emergencies of this kind, when evidence, which in itself would be irresistible, draws us one way and common sense another, the old-fashioned admirer of classical English may call to mind that paper in the *Spectator* (No. 470), wherein the delicate humour of Addison amuses itself by a parody on the performances of textual scholars of his day, the giant Bentley, it may be presumed, being chiefly in his view. The pretty verses on which he tries his hand are unfortunately a little out of keeping with the passages of Scripture we have been discussing; but his mirth is harmless, his illustration very happy, and scarcely an exaggeration of the spirit of such criticism as we have just been concerned with. We will read first the text, then Addison's commentary.

My love was fickle once and changing,
  Nor e'er would settle in my heart;
From beauty still to beauty ranging,
  In every face I found a dart.

'Twas first a charming shape enslav'd me,
  An eye then gave the fatal stroke:
Till by her wit Corinna sav'd me,
  And all my former fetters broke.

But now a long and lasting anguish
  For Belvidera I endure;
Hourly I sigh, and hourly languish,
  Nor hope to find the wonted cure.

For here the false unconstant lover,
After a thousand beauties shown,
Does new surprising charms discover,
And finds variety in one.

Most of the ancient manuscripts have in the last line "and finds variety in two." Indeed so many of them concur in this last reading, that I am very much in doubt whether it ought not to take place. There are but two reasons which incline me to the reading as I have published it: first, because the rhyme; and secondly, because the sense is preserved by it. It might likewise proceed from the oscitancy of transcribers, who, to despatch their work the sooner, used to write all numbers in cipher, and seeing the figure I followed by a little dash of the pen, as is customary in old manuscripts, they perhaps mistook the dash for a second figure, and by casting up both together, composed out of them the figure II. But this I shall leave to the learned, without determining any thing in a matter of so great uncertainty.

The solitary variations of the Codex Vaticanus from the ordinary Greek text are now and then so happy, that were it possible in common prudence to accept readings thus slenderly supported, we should be almost inclined to accept them for true. So much cannot be said for those vouched for by Codex Sinaiticus alone, though some of these too are very suggestive. Let us take for instance 1 Peter v. 13, which our Authorized Bibles render, "The Church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you," the word "Church" being printed in what is called italic type (not indeed in the original edition of 1611, but in those published twenty or thirty years later), to intimate that it is not found in the Greek. Thus the passage might very well be translated "She that is in Babylon," &c., whether "she" refer to the Church, or (as some moderns have thought more likely) to Peter's wife, who

certainly seems to have attended him on his missionary journeys (1 Cor. ix. 5). In this dilemma Codex Sinaiticus, by receiving the word "Church" into the text, supplies us with what is at least a very early exposition of it, which deserves the more regard inasmuch as our best ancient versions, the Latin Vulgate and the elder Syriac, as well as an inferior one, the Armenian, interpolate the selfsame word. Some of the variations hitherto known to exist in this copy and in no other deserve small consideration, and are probably mere lapses of a careless pen. Such are "Cæsarea" for "Samaria" in Acts viii. 5; "Evangelists" for "Hellenists," that is "Grecian Jews," Acts xi. 20; "not" inserted in Acts xiv. 9 before "heard"; "harvests" instead of "distributions" (the marginal rendering) in Heb. ii. 4, this last being a change of but one letter in the Greek. In Luke i. 26 Nazareth is called "a city of Judæa," with only one cursive copy favouring the mistake. Occasionally a terse expression of the true text is diluted into a weak paraphrase, as in John ii. 3, where in the place of the ordinary reading "And when they wanted wine," or "And when wine failed," Codex ℵ, certainly with some support from Old Latin and some inferior versions, would have us substitute "And they had no wine, because the wine of the marriage feast was finished." Now and then too we come on what must be regarded as the worst fault a copy of Holy Scripture can have, an attempt at wilful correction to evade a real or seeming difficulty. Such is the omission of the perplexing "son of Barachiah" after "blood of Zachariah," in Matt. xxiii. 35, the person referred to being to all appearance the son of Jehoiada, whose fate

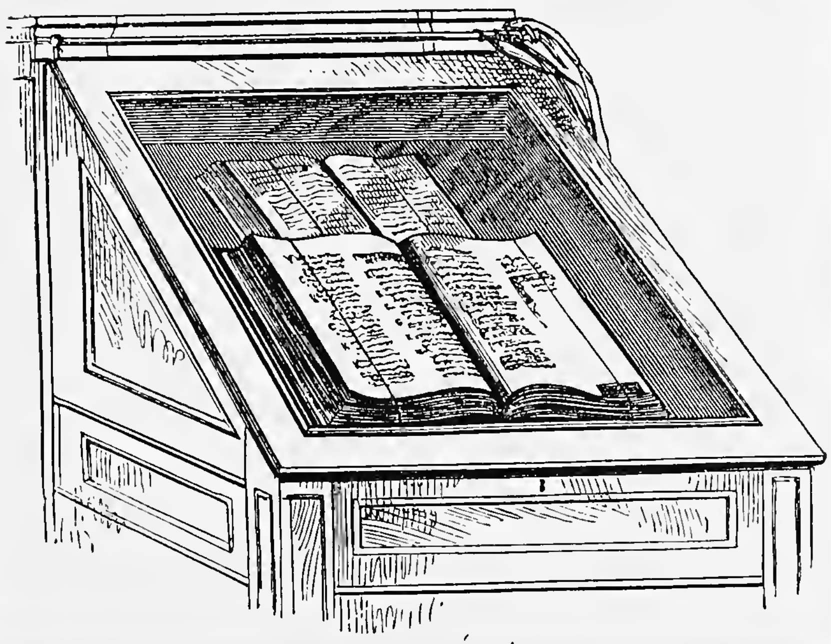
and dying words are recorded in 2 Chron. xxiv. 20—22. In this instance, since the appendage "son of Barachiah" is absent from the parallel passage Luke xi. 51, we might have looked for much support of Codex א's ready solution; but in fact we find scarcely any, and a later hand, of about the seventh or eighth century (*facsimile* 2, Plate 1), annexes the missing words in the great uncial itself. And here it may be observed once for all, that every known manuscript of high antiquity is thus altered by later scribes, usually for the purpose of amending manifest faults, or of conforming the reading to the one in vogue at a more recent date. In Codex B we trace two or three such revisers; in Codex א at least ten, some of whom spread their work systematically over every page, others made only occasional corrections, or were limited to separate portions of the manuscript; some again being nearly if not quite contemporaneous with the original document, but far the greater part belonging either to the sixth or seventh century, a few being as recent as the twelfth. It is obvious to remark that these several classes of emendations, widely differing from each other in style, shape of letters, and colour of the ink, could have had no place in a modern manuscript such as Simonides describes if fraud was not intended, and must have been very hard to carry out, if gratuitously introduced by a clever impostor.

We will enumerate only one more instance of deliberate and wilful correction which may be imputed to Codex Sinaiticus, and is too remarkable to be overlooked. In Mark xiv. 30, 68, 72 we have before us a set of passages which bear clear marks of designed and

critical revision, thoroughly carried out in Codex א, partially so in Codex B and some of its allies, the object being so far to assimilate the narrative of Peter's three denials with that of the other Evangelists, as to suppress the fact, vouched for by S. Mark only, that the cock crew twice. This end was effected by boldly expunging "twice" in verse 30, "and the cock crew" in verse 68, "the second time" and "twice" in verse 72. In these four separate changes one Old Latin copy designated *c* alone goes the whole way with Codex א: Cod. B is with it once only, Cod. C (of which we shall have to speak ere long) twice, our old acquaintance Cod. L also twice: it meets with some slight countenance from other quarters, but is beyond question to be set aside as a false witness, and so far as a vicious harmoniser of the Gospel histories. No charge so damaging can be substantiated against the Codex Vaticanus, and however jealous we may be of admitting any variation into the text on its solitary evidence, we shall meet with not a few cases wherein, seconded by the Sinai copy and by that copy almost alone, the intrinsic goodness of the reading it exhibits will hardly lead us to hesitate to receive it as true.

Codex Alexandrinus, or Codex A of the critics, prefers the next claim on our interest, as the earliest that was thoroughly applied to the recension of the text, and the third in point of merit and antiquity. It is now deposited in the Manuscript Room of the British Museum, where the open volume of the New Testament may be seen every public day secured in a glass case which stands in the middle of that room.

All that is known of its history may soon be told. It came into the Museum on the formation of the



Library in 1753, having previously formed a part of the sovereign's private collection. Sir Thomas Roe, our Ambassador in Turkey, received it in 1628 as a truly royal gift to Charles I. from Cyril Lucar, then Patriarch of Constantinople, the rash and hapless reformer of the Eastern Church. Cyril had brought the book from Alexandria, where he had before been Patriarch, and had himself inserted and subscribed in it a note importing that he had learnt from tradition that it was written by the hand of Thecla,

a noble lady of Egypt, thirteen hundred years before, a little later than the Council of Nice, A.D. 325. This information he seems to have obtained from an Arabic inscription on the reverse of the first leaf of the manuscript, also ascribing it to Thecla the martyr, while a recent Latin note on a fly-leaf declares that it was given to the Patriarchal Chamber (at Alexandria, as is stated in a much older and obscure scrawl in Moorish Arabic) in the year of the Martyrs 814, which is A.D. 1098. Thus it appears certain, in spite of some doubts that have been expressed, that Codex A came to us from Alexandria, which was probably its native place. Its connection with Thecla is less easy to be accounted for. A holy lady of that name was an early martyr for our faith, far too early indeed to be the writer of the book, and a namesake of hers, a friend of the great Gregory of Nazianzus in the fourth century, whom the probable date of the writing might suit, is not known to have been a martyr. Hence one is inclined to acquiesce in the acute conjecture of Dr Tregelles, that whereas the New Testament portion of Codex A begins at Matt. xxv. 6, which in the Greek Church forms a part of the proper lesson for the festival of that wise virgin S. Thecla, her name once stood in its usual place on that first page high in the upper margin, which has since been ruthlessly cut down, and thus led the writer of the Arabic inscription, from which Cyril derived his "tradition," to assume that she was the actual scribe.

This celebrated manuscript, by far the best deposited in England, is now bound in four volumes, whereof three contain the Septuagint Greek version of

the Old Testament, with the complete loss of only ten leaves; the fourth volume the New Testament with several lamentable defects. It begins, as we have just stated, with Matt. xxv. 6; two leaves are lost from John vi. 50 to viii. 52; three more from 2 Cor. iv. 13 to xii. 6. After the book of the Revelation, and in the same hand with the latter part of the New Testament, we meet with a treasure indeed in the only extant copy of that most precious work of the earliest of the Apostolic Fathers, the Epistle of S. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, followed by a fragment of a second Epistle of less undoubted authenticity. The book is in quarto, and now consists of 773 leaves (whereof 639 comprise the Old Testament), each page being divided (as may be observed in the wood-cut, p. 50) into two columns of fifty lines each, having about twenty letters or more in each line. The vellum has fallen into holes in many places, and since the ink peels off for very age whensoever a leaf is touched a little roughly, no one is allowed to handle the manuscript except for good reasons. The characters are uncial in form, of elegant shape, but a little less simple than those in Codd. ℵ and B. The punctuation is more frequent, yet still consists of a single stop, usually on a level with the top of the preceding letter, while a vacant space, proportionate to the break in the sense, follows the end of a paragraph. Codex Alexandrinus is the earliest in which we find capital letters, strictly so called. They abound at the beginning of books and sections, some being larger than others, but they are written in common ink by the original scribe, not painted as in later copies. At the end of each book we notice pretty arabesque orna-

ments in ink by the first hand: that in our wood-cut occurs at the conclusion of Deuteronomy.



Vermilion is freely used in the initial lines of the several books, and has stood the test of time better than the black ink, which has long since turned into a yellowish-brown. Another note of somewhat lower date than the two preceding codices is to be found in the presence of numerals indicating the larger Greek chapters throughout the Gospels, in addition to the so-called Ammonian sections and the Eusebiau canons which occur in Codex Sinaiticus. It should be kept in mind that the larger oriental chapters bear no resemblance to those in our modern Bibles, which were first adopted in the west of Europe about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Greeks divide the text very unequally: S. Matthew into 68 portions, S. Mark into 48, S. Luke into 83, S. John into 18. A list of *titles* describing their

contents stands before each of the last three Gospels (those of S. Matthew being wanting), and fragments of the titles repeated may be traced at the head of the several pages in their proper places, wheresoever the binder has withheld his cruel shears. In the Acts and Epistles we find no such chapter divisions, nor indeed did these, whose authorship is ascribed to Euthalius Bishop of Sulci, come into vogue before the middle of the fifth century. Since, besides the Eusebian canons, Codex Alexandrinus contains the Epistle of the great S. Athanasius on the Psalms to Marcellinus, it cannot well be considered earlier than A.D. 373, the year when that great champion of the Faith was lost to the Church. The presence of the Epistle of Clement, which was once read in Churches like the works of Barnabas and Hermas contained in Cod. ℵ, recalls us to a period when the canon of Scripture was in some particulars not quite settled, that is, about the time of the Councils of Laodicea (364) and of Carthage (397). Codex A was certainly written a generation after Codd. ℵ and B, but it may still belong to the fourth century; it cannot be later than the beginning of the fifth.

When Codex A arrived in England, it came into the custody of a very good scholar, Patrick Young, librarian to Charles I. He at once saw its value, and collated the New Testament after the loose fashion of the times. Alexander Huish, Prebendary of Wells (one loves to revive the memory of men who have faithfully laboured before us and are now at rest), examined it afresh for the use of Walton's Polyglott. Bentley's collation, made in 1716, is yet in manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge. J. E. Grabe had sent

forth an edition of the Old Testament portion some years before; but exact representations of this manuscript in a *semi-facsimile* uncial type were completed for the New Testament by Charles Godfrey Woide, a German, and assistant librarian in the British Museum, by public subscription in 1786; for the Old Testament, but at the national expense, by H. H. Baber, who held a similar office to Woide, between the years 1816 and 1828. Both publications are sufficiently accurate for practical purposes, though Woide's bears the higher reputation of the two. The Epistles of Clement were edited from this manuscript first by Patrick Young in 1633, and recently by Bishop Jacobson, Tischendorf, and Canon Lightfoot. Codex Alexandrinus has been judged to be carelessly written, but that is the case to some degree with nearly all the old copies, with the Sinaitic, as we have seen, most of all. Besides other corrections by later hands there are not a few instances in which the original scribe altered what he had first written, and these changes are to the full as weighty as the primitive readings which they amend. Of the character of its text we shall only say at present that it approximates much more closely to that found in later copies, especially in the Gospels, than any other approaching it in respect of antiquity. Hence it is perpetually at variance with Codd. ℵ and B in their characteristic and more conspicuous various readings, and being thus shewn to have had an origin perfectly independent of these cognate copies, its agreement with either or both of them supplies great strength of probability to any reading thus favoured. Its testimony, when it stands nearly or quite alone among

ancient authorities, may be safely disregarded, save in a few cases wherein it is sustained by the pressure of internal evidence.

There are two or three more manuscripts of the first rank yet to be considered, the description whereof will be more conveniently postponed until the next Lecture. We will now endeavour to convey to one unacquainted with Greek some general notion of each of the documents we have already passed under review, by giving line for line an over-literal translation of the *facsimiles* of the original on the opposite page; selecting for this purpose important passages of the New Testament to which we shall have to look back hereafter, on account of the various readings which are contained in them. We begin with Mark xvi. 6 (part) —8 from the Codex Vaticanus (*facsimile*, No. 1):

THEPLACEWHERETHEYLAID
HIMBUTGOYOURWAY
TELLTOTHEDISCIPLE^{S}
OFHIMANDTOPETER
THATHEGOETHBEFOREYOUTO
THEGALILEETHEREHI
MSHALLYESEEASHESA
IDTOYOUANDOUT^{G}O
INGTHEYFLEDFROMTHE
SEPULCHREHELDFOR
THEMTREMORANDAMAZ
EMENTANDTONONENO
THINGSPAKETHEYWEREAF
RAIDFOR:
AFTER
MARK.

The subscription "After Mark" is by a later hand, as the shape of the letter *M* compared with those in the text abundantly proves. We have no stops at all in the body of the passage, but : and the following > >- seem to be original, although the arabesque (which, as well as the subscription, is touched with vermilion) was subsequently added. Like all other good copies, Cod. B omits "quickly" in ver. 8. Although Codex Vaticanus ends S. Mark's Gospel with ver. 8, at the 31st line of the second column of a page (its columns, when full, containing 42 lines), it leaves the third column entirely blank, this being the only instance of a vacant column throughout the whole manuscript.

To illustrate Codex Sinaiticus we employ another passage of the deepest interest (*facsimile*, No. 3), 1 John v. 6 (part)—9 (part):

THEWATERONLY
BUTBYTHEWATER
ANDTHEBLOODAND
THE$\overline{SP}$TISTHE
WITNESSINGFORTH^{E}
$\overline{SPT}$ISTHETRU
THFORTHETHRE^{EA}R
ETHEWITNESS
INGTHE$\overline{SPT}$ANDTHEWA
TERANDTHEBLOOD
ANDTHETHREEINTOTH^{E}
ONEAREIFTHEWIT
NESSOF$\overline{GD}$REC

There is no vestige in Codex Sinaiticus, nor indeed in any other manuscript worth naming, of the famous interpolation of what are called the Three Heavenly Witnesses in vers. 7, 8, which yet deforms our Authorised translation, and will call for our special attention hereafter: but we here observe an instance of correction by a later hand of about the seventh century, amending one of the original scribe's countless blunders, caused by his eye having wandered two lines down the papyrus he was copying (p. 39), which led him to write "God" for "men." Here again we perceive no marks of punctuation, but ought to notice a peculiarity, common to all Biblical manuscripts though seen least in the earliest, of abridging the names of the Divine Persons after a fashion we should think a little irreverent. We shall meet with other examples in Codex Alexandrinus, from which we select the single verse Acts xx. 28 (*facsimile*, No. 4).

TAKEHEEDTOYOURSELVESANDTOALLTHE
FLOCK·INWHICHYOUTHESPTTHE
HOLYMADEOVERSEERS·
TOFEEDTHECONGREGATION
OFTHELDWHICHHEPURCHASEDTHROUGH
THEBLOODHISOWN·

"The Lord" in the room of "God" we shall hereafter see cause to reject as a false variation from the Received text. Here, however, in the compass of a few lines, we meet with as many as three stops, two of them over against the middle of the letters, and apparently of less power than the final one which is

set higher up. As a further mark of lower date we should notice the initial capital, about double the size of the rest, and standing out in the margin by itself.

The lines in our translation could not, of course, be made as nearly of the same length as in the Greek, where the letters are often written smaller at the end of a line, and in less ancient documents than these are compressed in shape. Speaking generally, the characters in Codex B are somewhat less in size than those of Codex A, considerably smaller than those in Cod. ℵ, though they all vary a little in this respect in different parts. Finally, the Sinaitic manuscript is written with four columns on a page (p. 17), each rather more than two inches broad, with from 12 to 14 letters in each. Although the Vatican manuscript has but three columns on a page (p. 27), yet the volume being somewhat smaller, the breadth of each column is about the same as those of its rival, though the letters vary from 16 to 18. The columns of Codex Alexandrinus are but two on a page, and, having an average breadth of 3½ inches, allow room for twenty letters and upwards in each. The attempt to keep up a resemblance to the style of the old writing on papyrus (p. 16) was by this time given over[1]: in fact the poetical books of the Old Testament are necessarily arranged in pages of two columns even in Codices B and ℵ.

[1] The Utrecht Latin Psalter, which contains the Athanasian Creed, and has been assigned by some to the sixth, by others to the ninth or tenth century, is also written in three columns, but bears marks of having been transcribed from an archetype which had but two columns on a page. It would seem probable indeed that the three-column arrangement is less a presumption of great antiquity in Latin manuscripts than in Greek.

LECTURE III.

THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT:—*Continued.*

THE next great manuscript of the Holy Bible which calls for our attention is the CODEX OF EPHRAEM, or Codex C of our critical notation, now No. 9 in the Greek department of the National Library at Paris, having been brought into France from Florence, together with several other copies of less value, by Queen Catharine de' Medici, of evil memory. It was imported from the East by Andrew John Lascar, a learned Greek patronised by Lorenzo de' Medici, and for a while belonged to Cardinal Nicolas Ridolphi of the same illustrious house. This document is a palimpsest, such as has been described to you before (pp. 17, 18), and the primitive writing (which dates from the fifth century) being first washed out as far as might be, the vellum received in about the twelfth century some Greek works of the celebrated Syrian Father S. Ephraem, from which it derives its distinctive name. The portions of the Old Testament in the Septuagint version which yet survive cover only 64 leaves. Far more precious are 145 leaves of fragments of every part of the New Testament, although more than one-

third of the volume has utterly perished, comprising some 37 chapters of the Gospels, 10 of the Acts, 42 of the Epistles (2 John and 2 Thessalonians are entirely lost), and 8 of the Apocalypse. Even of what remains much the greater part is barely legible under the modern writing. I had this document chiefly in view, though the remark would apply to at least one other, when I complained of attempts to revive the nearly obliterated characters by means of chemical washes (p. 18). Fleck tried the experiment on it in 1834, and has defaced it with dark stains of various colours, from green or blue to brown or black. The older writing was first noticed by Peter Allix two centuries ago; various readings extracted from it were communicated by Boivin to Kuster, who published them in 1710 in his edition of Mill's Greek Testament. As their high value was readily perceived by our great Bentley, he employed Wetstein, then young in spirit and in eye-sight, to collate the New Testament fully in 1716. To Wetstein's manuscript report now preserved with Bentley's other books in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is affixed in the Master's hand-writing the grumbling note, "this collation cost me £50." It might very well have done so and yet have been worth the money, since it often takes two hours or more to read a single page. Complete editions of the New Testament from this manuscript in 1843, of the Old in 1845, were among the earliest and best of Tischendorf's labours, and leave biblical scholars not much more to desire in regard to it.

From the four-column arrangement of Codex Sinaiticus, the three columns of Codex Vaticanus, and the

two of Codex Alexandrinus, we come to the single column in a page of the Codex Ephraem, which, with but few exceptions, was the fashion adopted in Greek Biblical manuscripts in later times, save that *Lectionaries* or Church lesson-books were mostly written in two columns down to the period that printing was invented. In shape Codex C is about the same size as Cod. A, but the vellum, though sufficiently good, is hardly so fine as that of its predecessors. The characters too are a little larger than those of B or A, and somewhat more elaborate, the latter circumstance always being a token of somewhat lower date. Our *facsimile* (No. 5) is chosen from another famous passage to which we must return by and by, being portions of 1 Timothy iii. 15, 16. The writing in dark ink and double columns in the cursive or running hand belongs to Ephraem's treatise, and affects us nothing.

UNDOFTHETRUTH:
ANDCONFESSEDLYGREATISTHEOFGODLINESSMY
— STERY· WASMANIFESTEDINFLESH·JUSTIFIEDINSPI

We have left a vacant space in the third line where the primitive reading is quite uncertain: the word of two letters may either have been WHO (OC) or $\overline{\text{GD}}$ *i. e.* GOD ($\overline{\Theta C}$), the difference in sense being evidently a considerable one. Here again we observe the capital letter in the margin, as in Cod. A, and two middle stops in the last line: the double stop before the paragraph break in the first line may be of later date, as the Greek breathings and accents certainly are. The strange marks under ΘC in the Greek compose a

musical note, inserted by some one who understood the word to be $\overline{\text{GD}}$. Codex C should be regarded as slightly junior to Codex A, and may be referred to the first half of the fifth century. An ancient reviser, who went through the manuscript about a hundred years after it was written, has preserved readings which are sometimes hardly inferior to those of the first hand, but two or three later correctors deserve little consideration for their labours. Here again, as in Cod. A, there are no traces of chapter divisions in the Acts, Epistles, or Apocalypse; but *titles* (p. 53), or tables of the contents of the larger Greek chapters are prefixed to the several Gospels, the Ammonian sections being set in the margin without the Eusebian canons, which latter, being usually written in vermilion paint, may have been washed out by the rough process to which this palimpsest has been subjected. The critical value of Cod. C, where its evidence is to be had, is very highly prized. It stands in respect of text about midway between A and B, and is evidently quite independent of both, to an extent which could not be asserted of Cod. ℵ in reference to B; so that the support, whether of A or C, or better still, of the two united, lends an authority to the readings of B, which it is not easy to gainsay or set aside.

CODEX BEZÆ or Cod. D, that copy of the Gospels and Acts in Greek and Latin arranged in parallel columns, which was presented in 1581 by the French Protestant leader Theodore Beza to the University of Cambridge, is the last of the great uncial copies we shall consider in detail. The open volume stands under a glass case in the New Library, and is probably worth all the

other manuscripts there deposited put together: for Cambridge, though rich in grateful sons, is less fortunate than Oxford in one respect, that she found no Bodley or Laud or Selden to make collections for her, at a period when the wreck of English monastic libraries could be picked up almost for the asking. Codex Bezæ has been twice edited; in 1793 by Thomas Kipling, afterwards Dean of Peterborough, in two folio volumes and in type imitating the style of the primitive writing, in 1864 by myself in a less costly, but not, I hope, a less useful form. The manuscript is now splendidly bound and forms a quarto of 406 original and nine later vellum leaves: about 128 leaves have been lost, containing portions of the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. John, and no inconsiderable part of the Acts of the Apostles, some of the missing passages being supplied on the more recent leaves in a hand more modern by at least 300 years.

A Latin fragment of the third epistle of S. John, from ver. 11 to the end, stands on the first page of a leaf on the reverse of which the Acts commence, so that the Catholic Epistles or some of them must have preceded that book when the Codex was yet perfect. The order also in which the Gospels stand is uncommon, though not unexampled in the West, those of the two apostles S. Matthew and S. John taking precedence of the writings of the Apostolic men S. Luke and S. Mark. Three of the best codices of the Old Latin versions exhibit the same arrangement, to us a very strange one,—Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

In Codex Bezæ, as our *facsimile* (No. 6) will shew,

the Greek text stands on the left page of each open leaf, the Latin translation on the right, opposite to it, and corresponding with it line for line; the whole being distributed into metrical lines of not very unequal length, which in the venerable archetype from which it was derived doubtless suited the sense closer than it does at present. There are thirty-three such lines on every page, that in our specimen being taken from John xxi. 21, 22.

HIMTHEREFORESEEINGPETERSAITHTOJS·
LDANDTHISMANWHAT·SAITHTOHIMIS
IFIWISHHIMTOREMAINTHUS
TILLICOMEWHATTOTHEE FOLLOWTHOUME

The insertion of THUS in the third line enables us to trace a little of the history of this remarkable manuscript before it fell into Beza's hands. William a Prato, Bishop of Clermont in the Auvergne, is known to have produced to the Council of Trent in 1546 "a very ancient Greek codex," which confirmed the reading of the Latin Vulgate "Thus I wish" instead of "If I wish." Since Cod. D is the only known Greek which even seems to do so (as it reads both "if" and "thus" with some other Latin authorities), the inference is a natural one that a Prato had brought it to Trent from his own country. In or about the same year 1546, Henry Stephens collated what cannot but be the self-same copy "in Italy," for the use of his father Robert Stephens' celebrated Greek Testament of 1550. All else we know about the book is told by Beza in his letter to the University of Cambridge which accompanied his noble gift, and in an autograph note of

his still to be seen in it, whose statements are yet more explicit. Hence we learn that he obtained this precious treasure from the monastery of S. Irenæus in Lyons, at the first breaking out of the French religious wars in 1562; and since we learn from the annals of those miserable times that Lyons was sacked and the monastery desecrated by the Huguenots that very year, we need not go far to conjecture how it came into the possession of Beza, who was serving as chaplain general of the Reformed army during that very campaign. He adds indeed that it had long lain there buried in the dust, which might be true enough in the main, for Beza is little likely to have heard of the loan made to the Bishop of the neighbouring Clermont sixteen years before. Nothing is more likely than that this most venerable document, a relic of the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, was a native of the country in which it was found. The Latin version bespeaks its western origin; its style and diction are exactly suitable to a province like Gaul, where the classical language was fast breaking up into the vernacular dialect from which the modern French derives its origin, to whose usage indeed a few of its words and phrases approximate in a manner which cannot well be accidental. For it will be observed that the Latin version of Cod. D has less affinity to the Vulgate than any other yet known. It seems to have been made either from the existing Greek text of the manuscript, or from a yet earlier form very closely allied with it.

But for the character of its parallel Latin translation, the Codex Bezæ might have been dated a little

earlier than we have ventured to place it. Its uncials are firm, simple, and elegant; the punctuation consists mainly of a single point over against the middle of the letters; the capitals are not much larger than the other letters, though they sometimes occur in the middle of a line, a practice we have not had to notice before. The text has none of the usual divisions into chapters or sections, but is distributed into paragraphs peculiar to this copy, indicated by the initial letters running slightly into the margin. In some parts this manuscript is quite fresh, the red ink especially being as bright as if it were new: in others it is barely legible. It has suffered many emendations by numerous hands, some of which have dealt with it very violently. The Ammonian sections were placed in the margin by a scribe of about the ninth century.

The chief interest attached to Codex Bezæ arises from the very peculiar character of its Greek text, which departs much further from that of the common editions than does that of any other manuscript. No known copy contains so many bold and extensive interpolations, either absolutely unsupported, or countenanced only by some Old Latin manuscript or Syriac version. In the Acts of the Apostles we seem in many places to be reading a kind of running commentary on the narrative as given by other authorities, rather than S. Luke's history itself, and some of its additions are very interesting, from whatever source they were derived, though we must not venture to regard them as authentic. Such, for example, is the touching circumstance preserved by Cod. D and the margin of a late Syriac version, and by these alone, that Simon Magus,

after his earnest request for S. Peter's intercession that his sin might be forgiven him (Acts viii. 24), ceased not to shed many a bitter tear. But the most remarkable passage in this manuscript, in regard to which it stands quite alone, is that which follows Luke vi. 4, on the leaf which is usually kept open at Cambridge for the inspection of visitors. It runs thus:

"On the same day he beheld a certain man working on the sabbath, and said unto him, Man, blessed art thou if thou knowest what thou doest; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law."

I was present when this passage was shewn at Cambridge to a learned Greek Archimandrite, Philippos Schulati of Kustandje. He had never heard either of it or of the manuscript before, but after a moment's thought his comment was ready: "This cannot be: the Lord cursed no man."

Codex Claromontanus, or Cod. D of S. Paul's Epistles, now No. 107 in the National Library at Paris, bears a strange resemblance to Cod. D of the Gospels and Acts in regard to its country, its history, its date, genius, and general appearance. This copy also was brought to light by Beza, who first mentions it in 1582, the year after he had sent its fellow to Cambridge. He had obtained it, he says not how, at the other Clermont near Beauvais, and from him it passed into the hands of those distinguished scholars, Claude Dupuy, Councillor of Paris, and his sons Jacques and Pierre. Jacques, who was the king's librarian, sold it in 1656 to Louis XIV, to form part of the great collection which it still adorns. In 1707 John Aymont, an

apostate priest, stole 35 of its 533 leaves, of the thinnest and finest vellum known to exist. One leaf, which he disposed of in Holland, was restored in 1720 by its possessor Stosch; the rest were sold to the bibliomanist Harley, Earl of Oxford, Queen Anne's Lord Treasurer, but were sent back to Paris in 1729 by his son, who had learnt their shameful story. This noble volume, like the other Cod. D, is in two languages, the Greek and Latin being on different pages in parallel lines, the Greek on the left side of the open leaf. It contains all S. Paul's Epistles except a few missing leaves, that to the Hebrews standing last as in our modern Bibles, rather than as in Codd. ℵABC (p. 27). Each page is covered with about 21 lines of uncial writing, the words being continuous both in Greek and Latin, the letters square, regular and beautiful, perhaps a little simpler than those in Codex Bezæ. Our *facsimile* (No. 7) contains 1 Cor. xiii. 5, 6:

ISNOTUNSEEMLY
SEEKETHNOTHEROWN
ISNOTIRRITATED
THINKETHNOTEVIL
REJOICETHNOTINWRONG
BUTREJOICETHINTRUTH

Here again, but more correctly and clearly than in Codex Bezæ, we have an example of what is technically called *stichometry*, that is, the division of prose sentences into lines of about equal length corresponding as nearly as possible to the sense. This elegant but artificial arrangement, though not unknown in the third and fourth centuries, was first formally applied to S. Paul's

writings by Euthalius the deacon, A.D. 458. The precious fragment Cod. H of S. Paul, once belonging to Coislin, Bishop of Metz, and now also in the National Library at Paris, is similarly divided to Cod. D, and the two must be referred to the same period, the early part of the sixth century, a date which will suit well enough the Latin version in the parallel column, as it did that of Codex Bezæ (p. 66). There are few stops in this copy, the breathings and accents are by a hand two or three centuries later. The letters at the beginning of words and sections are plain, and not much larger than the rest. The Greek text is far purer than that of Cod. Bezæ, and inferior in value only to that of its four great predecessors, Codd. ℵABC: the Latin version is more independent of the parallel Greek, and of higher critical worth. This manuscript also was excellently edited in 1852 by the indefatigable Tischendorf, who found his task all the more difficult by reason of the changes the text had successively undergone at the hands of no less than nine different correctors, ancient and modern.

In connection with the Codex Claromontanus we are bound to name another Greek and Latin copy, CODEX SANGERMANENSIS or Cod. E of S. Paul, if only to point out its utter uselessness. In the worst days of the first French Revolution the Abbey of S. Germain des Prez by Paris, which had been turned into a saltpetre manufactory, was burnt down, and many of its books were lost in the act of removal. Out of their number Cod. E and two leaves of Cod. H of S. Paul, which we just now referred to, have turned up, together with others, in the Imperial Library at St Petersburg,

that common receptacle of literary property which has gone astray. We may wish the Russians joy of a purchase which is of no value to any one. Cod. E is a large volume, written in coarse uncial letters of about the tenth century, with breathings and accents by the first hand, the two languages standing on the same page, but the Greek still on the left hand. In respect to the Greek column, it is demonstrably nothing but a servile transcript from Cod. D made by a very ignorant scribe after Cod. D had suffered its more violent corrections, which are incorporated with the text of Cod. E in as blundering a fashion as can be conceived. The Latin too is derived from that of Cod. D, but is a little more mixed with the new or Vulgate Latin, and may be of some service in criticism, whereas the Greek cannot possibly be of any.

Another manuscript in which the prose text of the Acts of the Apostles is broken up into *stichometry* was given to the Bodleian Library by its great Chancellor and benefactor, Archbishop Laud. It is designated Cod. E of the Acts, which book alone it contains, though with a serious gap of the 73 verses between ch. xxvi. 29 and ch. xxviii. 26. This copy also is in Greek and Latin, or more properly in Latin and Greek, for here the two languages are found in parallel columns on the same page (not on different pages as in the two Codd. D), the Latin in the post of honour on the left, in which particular it is almost unique among Biblical manuscripts. It was, therefore, manifestly written in the West of Europe. An edict of Flavius Pancratius, Duke of Sardinia, which with the Apostles' Creed in Latin is annexed to it, shews that it must have been

in that island not earlier than the sixth century. The very peculiar readings which he cites from it sufficiently prove that it was in the possession of our Venerable Bede, who died A.D. 735, and the conjecture is a probable one that it is one of the Greek books brought from Rome to England A.D. 668 by our great Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, the fellow-countryman of S. Paul. The style of this manuscript shews that its date is somewhat lower than those we have yet considered (except of course the S. Germain's transcript of Codex Claromontanus), perhaps early in the seventh century or late in the sixth. The characters are large and somewhat rude, the vellum thick and coarse, the 226 extant leaves have from 23 to 26 lines each, every line containing one or two words only, so that the stichometrical arrangement is rather one of name than of fact. Capital letters, running into the margin, occur after a break in the sense, but there are no formal paragraphs or indications of chapter divisions. Our *facsimile* (No. 8) comprises a portion of Acts xx. 28, with the same various reading as we noted above (p. 58) in Cod. A.

TOFEED
THECHURCH
OFTHELD

The Laudian manuscript (E) has been twice edited, by Thomas Hearne the antiquarian in 1715, by Tischendorf in 1870. Its text exhibits numberless rare and bold variations from that of ordinary copies, and in places is near akin to that of Cod. Bezæ (D), but has a yet stronger affinity than the latter to the Greek

margin of the later Syriac version. One cursive manuscript of the eleventh century in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (137 of Scholz's notation) resembles it so closely in the latter part of the Acts, that it may almost serve as a substitute for D or E, where either of them is mutilated. Cod. E is our earliest and chief Greek authority for the interesting verse Acts viii. 37, "And Philip said, If thou believest from all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." This verse is familiar to the English reader from having been brought into the Received Greek text by its first editor Erasmus, who frankly confesses that he found it not in his Greek copies, save in the margin of a single one. Hence its authenticity cannot be maintained, although Irenæus, who wrote in Gaul in the second century, recognised it without hesitation, as did Cyprian in the third century, Jerome and Augustine in the fourth. Many forms of the Latin version also contain the verse, which at any rate vouches for the undoubted practice of the early Church, of requiring a profession of faith, whether in person or by proxy, as ordinarily an essential preliminary to Baptism.

Two other considerable Greek-Latin manuscripts, which contain S. Paul's Epistles, merit a brief and passing notice, although they are neither of them prior to the latter part of the ninth century; namely, the Codex Augiensis (F), once Richard Bentley's, and bequeathed by his nephew to Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Codex Boernerianus (G) in the Royal Library at Dresden. The former member of this pair I had the pleasure of editing in 1859, the latter was published by the

great critic Matthaei as far back as 1791. Cod. Augiensis derives its name from the monastery of Augia Dives, Reichenau, *the rich meadow*, on a fertile island in the lower part of the Lake of Constance, to which it long appertained, and where it may even have been written about a thousand years ago. The origin of Cod. Boernerianus (so named from a former owner, and Professor at Leipsic, C. F. Boerner) is yet better ascertained, inasmuch as what is demonstrably the earlier portion of it, comprising the four Gospels, was discovered at the great monastery of S. Gall, and published in 1836 by Rettig, being known as the very curious and weighty Cod. Δ (*delta*, p. 43) of the Gospels. On a leaf now at Dresden were found a stanza or two of Irish verse, doubtless written by one of the students of that nation who crowded to S. Gall in the middle ages, which, as translated by Dr Reeves, the eminent Celtic scholar, may suggest that his countrymen had hardly yet become the blind slaves of the Papal court that unhappy circumstances have made them since.

> To go to Rome, to go to Rome,
> Much trouble, little good,
> The King thou seekest there
> To find, thou must bring with thee.

The connection between the Greek text as exhibited by Cod. F and that of Cod. G is of the most intimate character. That of Augia has all the defects of the sister copy and two peculiar to itself, since its first seven leaves are completely lost; both break off at Philemon ver. 20, thus omitting the Epistle to the Hebrews, although Cod. F affixes the Vulgate Latin version of that letter, while Cod. G has at the end of

Philemon the title "Here beginneth the Epistle to the Laodiceans," which, had it been preserved, would have been very interesting. Since the Epistle to the Colossians had already been given in its proper place, it could not have been that letter under another name.

But the Greek text in both copies is chiefly to be noticed. On comparing Matthaei's edition of G with the original of F, I could count only 1982 places wherein they differ, whereof only 200 were true various readings, the rest being mere blunders of the respective scribes, slips of the pen, or interchanges of vowels by reason of itacisms (pp. 39, 41). This affinity between the two has but one parallel, and that a less complete one, in this branch of literature, for Cod. E of S. Paul is only an unskilful transcript of Cod. D after it had suffered extensive corrections (p. 71). The truth is, that they were both taken from the same archetype by scribes who were miserably ignorant of Greek, and in that archetype the words must have been written continuously as in Codd. ℵABC, the two Codd. D, and E of the Acts. But a habit had long been growing which in the ninth century became confirmed, of setting a space between the words, and to this habit the scribes of both copies wished to conform, and even put a single point or stop at the end of each word (*see* p. 20), as if to shew that the practice was not yet familiar. Now the thing to be noticed is this; while in their almost complete darkness as to the meaning of the Greek they both made most ludicrous errors in the process of separating the words, the blunders of the one are by no means identical with those of the other, though just as gross and absurd. Hence it

follows that both F and G were transcribed separately from the same older codex, and, except in the places where they differ from each other, must be regarded not as two witnesses but one. The text thus preserved is both ancient and valuable, marked by many peculiarities of its own, and not to be rejected, if rejected at all, without much thought and some hesitation.

In respect to their Latin versions the two are quite independent. Cod. F has a pure form of the Latin Vulgate, as current at the period, in parallel columns on the same page with the Greek, but so arranged that the two Latin should always stand in the outward columns of each open leaf, the two Greek inside, and next to each other. In Cod. G the Latin is of an older type, set over the Greek and much conformed to it. Cod. G also preserves, by means of capital letters in the middle of the lines, the stichometrical arrangement of the archetype from which it was taken.

It would be too much to tire your patience by describing other uncial manuscripts of lower date and less eminent merit. For their age, history, and characteristics I must be content to refer you to works which have been specially devoted to the subject, among which the second edition of my "Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament," whatever be its other merits, is at least the most recent. Suffice it to say that the palimpsest fragments (p. 17) Codd. P and Q at Wolfenbüttel, Cod. R (Nitriensis, *see* p. 90) of S. Luke in the British Museum, Cod. Z of S. Matthew at Trinity College, Dublin, must be assigned to the sixth century, or the opening of the seventh, and, so far as they carry

us, are only less weighty than Codd. ℵABCD. But the coryphæus of these lesser authorities, though not earlier than the eighth century, is Codex L, or No. 62 in the National Library at Paris, of which we have had occasion to speak in connection with Codex B (pp. 42, 43, 49). In number the uncials amount to fifty-six in the Gospels, far the greater part of which are fragments, and many of them inconsiderable fragments; in the Acts and Catholic Epistles to six; in the Pauline Epistles to fifteen, chiefly fragments; in the Apocalypse to only five; to eighty-two in all. We do not here include Church lesson-books or *Lectionaries*, of which about sixty-eight survive in uncial characters; inasmuch as this style of writing, which became obsolete in other books towards the end of the ninth century, was in volumes used for reading in Churches, for motives of obvious convenience, kept up about two hundred years longer.

I have just said that much of our elder and uncial writing is merely fragmentary. This arises in part from the nature of the case. A few leaves, or perhaps a single leaf, of precious Biblical vellum, had been barbarously mangled to make up the binding of some comparatively modern book. Thus a portion of the beautiful Codex Ruber or Cod. M of S. Paul has been made up into fly-leaves for a volume of small value in comparison, among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum: Griesbach identified it at a glance as belonging to a fragment at Hamburg, by the exquisite semicursive writing and the bright red ink. Again, that interesting leaf of S. Mark's Gospel (W^d) which is now arranged on glass at Trinity College, Cambridge, consists

of 27 several shreds, picked out of the binding of a volume of Gregory Nazianzen in 1862 by the University Librarian, Mr Bradshaw. Too often, however, the scattering of various parts of the same manuscript is the work of mere fraud or greed. Of what was once a very fine copy of the Gospels written late in the sixth century on thin purple-dyed vellum in letters of silver and gold, four leaves are among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum, six are in the Vatican, two in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Thirty-three more leaves of the self-same codex (known as N of the Gospels) have lately been discovered at the monastery of S. John at Patmos, whence the other twelve were no doubt stolen, then divided for the purpose of getting a higher price for them from three several purchasers than from one. One would be sorry indeed to utter a word of disparagement about a person who has done so much for Biblical learning as Tischendorf, yet it is hard to acquit him of blame for having dispersed needlessly the several portions of certain documents he has brought to light. The case of Codex Sinaiticus seems to have admitted of no alternative. He was glad to get possession of its separate parts when and how he could. Yet the effect abides, that the 43 leaves which go by the name of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus (p. 32) are now at Leipsic, the remainder of the manuscript at St Petersburg. But it is hard to account in this way for his procedure in another matter. In 1855 he sold to the University of Oxford for the Bodleian, at a good price, two uncial codices of some importance, probably written in the ninth century, and each containing about half of the Gospels. They are known as Codd. Γ (*gamma*) and Λ

(*lambda*), and were stated by him to have been found in some eastern monastery—he is in the habit of describing in this general way the original locality of treasures which he met with on his various journeys. Four years later, on his return from the expedition during which he lighted on Codex Sinaiticus, he took to St Petersburg the remaining half of each of these documents, which are thus separated from their other portions by the breadth of Europe, and that without giving Oxford a chance of acquiring the whole, so far at least as we are aware. Without doubt the course which Tischendorf adopted was the more advantageous to himself, but to the Biblical student it is vexatiously inconvenient.

Little can here be said about manuscripts written in the *cursive* or running hand, which style from the tenth century downwards (p. 20) was almost exclusively employed in copying manuscripts of the New Testament. They are very numerous—sixteen hundred at least having been entered in formal Catalogues, whereof hardly a hundred have been collated or even examined as they ought—but they will not enter largely into discussion when we come to apply our materials to the solution of critical difficulties. A very brief account of a few of them is all we shall find time for. As the uncials are designated by letters of the alphabet, so are the cursives for the most part by the Arabic numerals. Cod. 1 contains the Gospels, Acts, and all the Epistles, written in an elegant and minute hand, and on account of certain beautiful miniatures which have now been abstracted from it was assigned to the tenth century: the handwriting might lead us to think that it is a little more recent. Our *facsimile* (No. 9, Plate 1) represents

the title and first words of S. Luke's Gospel, and the graceful illuminations are set off by bright colours and gilding. It is deposited in the Public Library of Basle, in which city it was used, only too slightly, by Erasmus, when he was preparing the first published edition of the Greek New Testament, 1516.

The Apocalypse, or Book of the Revelation, is not often contained in the same volume as the Gospels; so that Cod. 1 of the Apocalypse is quite a different manuscript, of less value and antiquity, and being the only one to which Erasmus had access when forming his Greek text, its manifold errors and its defect in the six concluding verses rendered his text of this book the least satisfactory portion of his great work. This Cod. 1 then belonged to John Reuchlin (or Capnio, as he was called, after the fanciful humour of his times), the famous scholar whose death in 1522 was bewailed by his loving friend Erasmus in one of the most exquisite of his Colloquies. It was subsequently lost, but was happily re-discovered by Professor Delitzsch in 1861, in the library of the Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein, to the great gain of sacred literature.

Cod. 33 of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, although much less beautiful than the Basle Cod. 1, is in respect of its contents far more valuable. For its store of excellent various readings, and its textual resemblance to the most venerable uncials, it has been justly styled "Queen of the cursives." It once belonged to the great French minister Colbert, and is now in the National Library at Paris, No. 14. It is written in a fine round hand of the eleventh century, with 52 long lines on each page (see *facsimile* No. 10, Luke i. 8—11), but has

been shamefully misused in former times. By reason of the damp, the ink has in many places left its proper page blank, so that, to the dismay of Tregelles, who persistently collated it anew in 1850, the writing can only be read as *set off* on the opposite page.

The next copy we shall speak of, Cod. 69 of the Gospels, is one of the comparatively few cursives—some twenty-five in all—which embrace the whole New Testament, although with numerous defects. It is a folio volume, peculiar for having been written, apparently with a reed, on inferior vellum and coarse paper, arranged in the proportion of two parchment to three paper leaves, recurring at regular intervals: the handwriting is a wretched scrawl, always tiresome and sometimes difficult to decipher. Our *facsimile* (No. 11) contains 1 Tim. iii. 15—16, selected for the sake of a reading to which we have previously made reference, and shall have occasion to speak more about hereafter. Its wide variations from the Received text have drawn much attention to this document, which was presented to the Town Council of Leicester in 1640 by a neighbouring clergyman, Thomas Hayne. Its present owners allowed both Tregelles and myself to take it home with us for the laborious task of complete collation, but it is ordinarily kept with reverent care in the Town Library by those who take an honest pride in their treasure. A few years since some friends of mine were inspecting it with strangers' curiosity, while the old lady appointed to exhibit it expatiated loudly on its merits. It was, of course, in her oration, one of the wonders of the world, a precious relic coming down to us from the fourth century of the Christian era. Then sud-

denly changing countenance, and sharpening the tones of her voice, she proceeded, to the lively amusement of her audience, "And yet that famous Doctor Scrivener pretends that it is no older than the fourteenth century:—much he knows about it!" If you will glance again at our *facsimile*, and compare it with others that I have laid before you, it may probably occur to you that the date I venture to assign to it is not far wrong; but it might have comforted the zealous guardian of the Leicester manuscript, had she been told that mere age is but one element in assigning to a document its proper value. This very copy has recently been demonstrated by the late Professor Ferrar, of Trinity College, Dublin, and his colleague there, Mr. T. K. Abbott, to have so close a connection with three others of the twelfth century, one being now at Paris, another at Vienna, the third at Milan[1], that the four must have been transcribed, either directly or perhaps at second hand, from some archetype of very remote antiquity, which in Mr Abbott's judgment may have equalled Codex Bezæ in age, while it exceeded it in the purity of its text. One point of resemblance between the four is a very startling one. These manuscripts, and these alone, coincide in removing the history of the woman taken in adultery, which we shall have to discuss hereafter, from the beginning of the eighth chapter of S. John's Gospel to the end of the twenty-first chapter of S. Luke.

Two other very important copies of the Gospels are Cod. 157 in the Vatican, which is next in weight

[1] The other three copies are, Cod. 13 of the Gospels, Paris No. 50; Cod. 124, Vienna, Lambecc. 31; Cod. 346, Milan, Ambros. S. 23 *sup.*

among the cursives to Cod. 33, and from its miniatures in colours and gold is seen to belong to the early part of the twelfth century; and a Church lesson-book, dated A.D. 1319, abounding with readings found elsewhere only in Cod. B and the best uncials, which has been named by others Scrivener's y, because I was fortunate enough to light upon it nearly thirty years ago among the Burney manuscripts in the British Museum. In the same great library is deposited another cursive, as remarkable as any in existence, Cod. 61 of the Acts of the Apostles only, but with 297 verses missing. This also is dated (A.D. 1044), and seems once to have contained the Catholic Epistles, since a table of the chapters in S. James yet remains. Tischendorf discovered it in Egypt in 1853, and sold it to the Trustees of the British Museum. In consideration of its singular critical value in a book whose readings are at times much disturbed, independent collations have been made of it by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and myself.

The last cursive we shall mention at present is one of about the twelfth century, Cod. 95 of the Apocalypse, manuscripts of which book are much scarcer than those of any other portion of the New Testament. The late Lord de la Zouche, then Mr Curzon, found it in 1837 on the library floor at the monastery of Caracalla, on Mount Athos, and begged it of the Abbot, who suggested that the vellum leaves would be of use to cover pickle-jars. This "special treasure," as Tregelles justly calls it, contains also, between the portions of its precious text, an epitome of Arethas' commentary on the Apocalypse, and breaks off at ch. xx. 11. This copy, and one less valuable from the same place (Cod. 96),

Mr Curzon allowed me to collate in 1855 at his seat, Parham Park in Sussex.

Manuscripts of every kind and date will often be found to contain very interesting matter respecting their scribes and the times when they were written. Many of them are adorned with pictures in miniature or of full size, as also with arabesque and other illuminations, in paint of blue or purple, green or vermilion or gold, both beautiful in themselves, and illustrative of the history of art. But these things appertain rather to the antiquarian than to the Biblical critic, and must not detain us now. A pretty little notice of the *Scriptorium*, or writing-room in monasteries (*see* p. 4), of its tenants and its furniture, may be seen in so unlikely a place as the Appendix to the "Golden Legend" of the American poet Longfellow, who fairly quotes the authorities whence his information is taken. In two writers of manuscripts, who have repeatedly crossed my path, I cannot help feeling a special interest: one is Theodore of Hagios Petros in the Morea, which little town even yet furnishes pupils to the German Universities, in whose firm bold hand no less than six manuscripts still survive, bearing date between A.D. 1278 and 1301: the other is Angelus Vergecius, a professional scribe of the sixteenth century, on whose elegant style was modelled the Greek type cast for the Royal Printing Office at Paris, and to whose excellence in his art is due the oddly-sounding proverb, "he writes like an angel." The colophon oı concluding note to an extensive work is sometimes very touching in its quaint simplicity, whether it be a burst of thankfulness that the toil is ended; or a

request for the reader's prayers in behalf of the sinful penman; or a description of his personal peculiarities, such as "the one-eyed Cyprian;" or some obvious moral reflection, which hardly reads like a commonplace, now that it is verified before our eyes. Take, for example, the following distich, extracted from a manuscript in the collection of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts (II. 10):

ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ,
ἡ δὲ βίβλος ἵσταται...μέχρι τέρματων.

The hand that wrote doth moulder in the tomb,
The Book abideth till the day of doom.

LECTURE IV.

ON THE ANCIENT VERSIONS AND OTHER MATERIALS FOR THE CRITICISM OF THE GREEK TEXT.

1. I TRIED to explain in the course of my first Lecture (pp. 9—11) the important service rendered to sacred criticism by the primitive versions of Holy Scripture and by the express citations from it preserved in early ecclesiastical writers; inasmuch as these help to bridge over the space of nearly three centuries which separates the lost autographs of the Apostles and Evangelists from the most venerable of those manuscripts which my second and third Lectures were designed to render familiar to you. In plain truth, the versions and the Fathers of the second and third century stand in the place of copies of the New Testament which were then in common use, but have long since utterly disappeared beyond all hope of discovery: and, speaking generally, they fill up the vacant room, if not at all times so completely as we might wish, yet in a way abundantly sufficient for all practical purposes. A single example shall illustrate my meaning, and it shall be taken in preference from one of the few passages (they are only twenty-five through the New Testament)

wherein the translators of our Authorized Bible notice in their margin a difference of reading. In Acts xiii. 18 our ordinary text runs "And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness," where the margin, instead of "suffered he their manners," intimates as a possible alternative "bore them as a nurse beareth or feedeth her child," supplying for once to the English reader both the Greek words *ἐτροποφόρησεν* and *ἐτροφοφόρησεν*, which differ only in a single letter, *pi* or *phi*. When we come to examine our best manuscripts we find them not unequally divided. For *pi* of our English text are Codd. ℵB, the very ancient second hand of C (p. 63), the Greek of D against its own parallel Latin version, the great cursive 61 (p. 83), three lesser uncials and most cursives. For *phi* of our margin stand Codd. AC (by the first hand), E or Bede's copy, the Latin of D (p. 66), that admirable cursive numbered as 33 in the Gospels (p. 80) and several others of a superior class. In this state of perplexity, since either reading would give us a fair sense, we naturally desire to know which of them was extant in ages prior to the fourth century, the date of our earliest codices ℵ and B. Now several translations which yet survive were made at an early period, and this is just such a case as versions would have peculiar weight in deciding, because in no other language save Greek would two words so widely apart in meaning be so close to each other in form. We notice therefore that the elder Syriac of the second century, the two Egyptian of the third, conspire in representing *phi*, the form upheld in our margin, and these facts would go far to decide the question, which happens to be one

rather curious than very important, but that we observe both readings in the works of the celebrated Greek critic and theologian Origen, who died in the middle of the third century. Both readings, therefore, were well known and supported long before Codd. ℵB existed, and the parallel in Deut. i. 31, to which our translators make a seasonable reference, and which in the Hebrew admits of no ambiguity, will probably incline us to prefer *phi* of the Authorized margin to *pi* of the text.

2. I have dwelt the longer on the foregoing passage, that you may see distinctly how prominent a part the primitive versions and Fathers must always bear in the Textual criticism of the New Testament. My hearers, therefore, will not suppose that I am exhausting their attention to no purpose, if I now seek to trace these fruitful sources of information with some pains and care, before entering upon the practical application of the principles we shall have established to an examination of certain leading passages of the New Testament itself, which examination will form the subject-matter of our fifth and sixth, or concluding Lectures. In regard to versions one thing ought to be well borne in mind, that we here employ them in the service of the criticism of Holy Scripture, not as guides to its right interpretation. We endeavour to discover the general character and precise readings of the lost manuscripts of the original which the translators had before them, and are concerned with nothing more. Hence a very wretched version like the Æthiopic or one form of the later Syriac may afford us considerable aid, whereas an excellent one, such as our English Authorized Bible, inasmuch as it is derived from a

modern and well-known text, will prove for our present end of no use at all. The chief ancient versions we shall describe are those in the Syriac, Egyptian, and Latin tongues.

3. The Aramæan or Syriac, employed to this day in the public service of several Eastern Churches, is a branch of the great Semitic family of languages, and as early as Jacob's age was distinct from the Hebrew: Laban the Syrian called the stony heap of witness "Jegar-sahadutha," but Jacob called it "Galeed" (Gen. xxxi. 47). As we now find it in books, it was spoken in the north of Syria and in Upper Mesopotamia, about Edessa, the native country of the patriarch Abraham. It is, compared with the Hebrew, which ceased to be vernacular six centuries before Christ, at the time of the Captivity to Babylon, a copious, flexible, and elegant language. It is so near akin to the Chaldee as spoken in Babylon, and brought back by the Jews into Palestine, that the latter was popularly known by its name (2 Kings xviii. 26; Isai. xxxvi. 11; Dan. ii. 4). Hence the Syriac of literature, though long since passed away from common use, very nearly represents the dialect spoken by our Lord during his earthly ministry, and by those who then lived in the Holy Land; and was on that account regarded with the deeper interest by Albert Widmanstadt, Chancellor to the Emperor Ferdinand I., and by its other first students in modern times. The oldest Syriac version, distinguished from those that followed it by the name of the "Peshito" or "Simple," comprised both the Old and New Testaments, except the second Epistle of S. Peter, the second and third of S. John and the Apocalypse, and seems

to have been executed (at least in some portions) as early as the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, from manuscripts which have of course long ago perished: it is cited under the familiar appellation of "the Syrian" by Melito about A.D. 170. Christianity, as we know, spread early from Antioch, the Greek capital (Acts xi. 19—27; xiii. 1, &c.), into the native interior of Syria, where the Apostle Thaddæus is alleged to have preached the Gospel to Abgarus, toparch of Edessa. The Peshito would be readily conceded to be by far the chief of all versions of Scripture, but for certain appearances of revision undergone by its text in ancient times, which slightly impair its critical value; although we have copies of it which bear date in the sixth century, and, even as it stands, in weight and authority it is exceeded by none, while for perspicuity of style, for ease and freedom combined with precision and correctness—but these qualities make little for our immediate purpose—it is quite without a rival. The first printed edition of the New Testament, out of many that succeeded, was put forth at Vienna in 1555 by Widmanstadt, at the expense of his Imperial master; the Old Testament was first published in 1645 by the Maronite Gabriel Sionita, in the magnificent Paris Polyglott.

4. A strong light was thrown upon the history of the Syriac versions by the happy discovery made by the late Canon Cureton, then an officer in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, while engaged upon the task of examining and arranging the Syriac and other manuscripts (*see* p. 76) brought to England by the late Archdeacon Tattam about 1847

from the convent of S. Mary the Mother of God in the Nitrian Desert, seventy miles N.W. of Cairo. It consists of the single known copy of a version of the Gospels, neither itself the Peshito nor yet independent of it, which after ten years' delay was published by Cureton in 1858, with a translation and copious notes. The original manuscript has been reasonably assigned to the fifth century. It is a fragment, containing on fine vellum leaves, written with two columns on a page, large portions of the other Gospels, but only one precious passage of S. Mark (ch. xvi. 17—20), so arranged that S. John immediately follows it and precedes S. Luke. Beyond question the Curetonian Syriac is a document of high importance in criticism, often lending powerful support to the very best of our other authorities; although, considered as a translation, where it quits the footsteps of the Peshito, it is often loose, careless, paraphrastic, or wholly erroneous. Its text bears so strong a resemblance in many places to that of Codex Bezæ and the older forms of the Latin version, which we shall soon have to speak about, that they must doubtless be referred to some common origin, as far back as the second century, and thus afford us a plain proof that readings may be very ancient without being in the least degree good or even probable. Take for instance the following palpable interpolation, manifestly grounded on Luke xiv. 8—10, which the Curetonian Syriac (as it is usually called), in company with Codex Bezæ, some Old Latin Manuscripts and writers, and one other witness, annexes to Matt. xx. 28. The rendering (which is somewhat rugged) is Cureton's, not mine.

But you, seek ye that from little things ye may become great, and not from great things may become little. Whenever ye are invited to the house of a supper, be not sitting down in the honoured place, lest should come he that is more honoured than thou, and to thee the Lord of the supper should say, Come near below, and thou be ashamed in the eyes of the guests. But if thou sit down in the little place, and he that is less than thee should come, and to thee the Lord of the supper shall say, Come near, and come up and sit down, thou also shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.

5. The Peshito and Curetonian Syriac versions, in whatever relation they may stand to each other (for this point must be regarded as still unsettled), carry us back to a text of the second century, not by any means necessarily the purest, yet claiming special attention on the score of its mere antiquity. About four other translations of Scripture into Syriac, but of a later date, are extant, either complete or in a fragmentary shape, two of which have considerable worth as instruments of criticism. The Philoxenian or Harclean Syriac is the principal, and includes the whole New Testament. At the end of the manuscript from which the printed text is derived (and we find independent testimony to the fact in another quarter), a colophon or subscription by the first hand declares that the translation was made A. D. 508 (by one Polycarp, a Rural or Suffragan Bishop, as we learn elsewhere) for Xenaias or Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis, of the Monophysite communion, the chief of those semi-heretical sects into which the Syrian Church has been divided from the fifth century to this day. The subscription goes on to state that this version was collated by the writer, Thomas of Harkel, A. D. 616 (who subsequently became himself Monophysite Bishop of Mabug), by the help of

two approved Greek manuscripts (perhaps of three, for the reading varies), belonging to the convent of Antonia, in Alexandria. We have here, therefore, a version of the sixth century, diligently corrected a hundred years later by venerable Greek copies found in Egypt, whose variations are set in the margin. It is this margin which renders the Philoxenian version as valuable as it is to textual critics, for the body of the work consists of a servile accommodation of the noble and free Peshito, the vernacular Bible of all Syria, to the very letter of the Greek. A note in the Philoxenian margin is the solitary witness we have not yet spoken of as vouching for the paragraph affixed to Matt. xx. 28 (p. 91); it much resembles Cod. L in its more characteristic variations, and in the Acts is the almost constant associate of Codd. DE. 137 (*see* p. 73), whether each singly or all together. Certain passages in the Philoxenian text are distinguished by asterisks and obeli, which may be due to Thomas of Harkel, although their precise purpose is a little uncertain, unless it be to indicate suspicion of the possible spuriousness of the passages to which they are attached. Two manuscripts of the Philoxenian translation were sent to England from Diarbekr in 1730, and made known by a tract published by Dr. Gloucester Ridley in 1761. He bequeathed them to New College, Oxford, whose library they now adorn, and several other copies of the Gospels only have been since discovered elsewhere. The version was published at Oxford by Professor Joseph White in 1788—1803.

6. The only other Syriac version we shall notice was found in a single Vatican manuscript, dated A. D. 1030,

by the great Danish scholar Adler, and was published in full by the Count F. Miniscalchi Erezzo in 1861—4. It is distinguished as the Jerusalem Syriac, because the dialect in which it is written seems to be rather that of Southern than of Northern Syria. It appears to be made immediately from the Greek, not grounded on the Peshito, like the Philoxenian. Although the copy we possess is so recent, it must have been derived from a pure source, and is the more valuable from its obvious independence of our other critical materials: it often sides with Codd. B D against the mass of authorities. Being only a Church lesson-book of the Gospels, it often fails us where we should most desire its help, but is very interesting as enabling us to compare the Lectionary of the Syrian Church with that of the Greek. The general features are common to both, with many characteristic variations, as well in the passages chosen for public reading, as in the lesser Festivals and Saints' days appointed to be kept holy.

7. Next to Syria in geographical position stands Egypt, once a Christian land, though now given up, by the mysterious ordinance of an allwise Providence, to the false creed of the impostor Mohammed. The handful of native Egyptians who still abide in the faith of Christ comprises a poor, down-trodden, scattered and divided remnant, discriminated from its conquerors the Arabs by the appellation of Copts, a term whose origin is uncertain: every one knows that the Old Testament name of the people was Mitzri. By the Coptic versions of the Bible, therefore, we mean those made for the use of the primitive Christians of Egypt, possibly as early as the second century, when

the Gospel had already spread from Alexandria far into the interior; certainly before the middle of the third, when the Christian population had grown very numerous, whereas even their chief rulers, eminent abbots and bishops celebrated as mighty in the Scriptures, knew no language except their own.

By comparing our existing translations of the Bible with all we know of the ancient language of Egypt, it is evident that their diction does not differ materially from the demotic, or vulgar speech of the nation a few centuries before the Christian era; and that the demotic again is but a modernized form of the elder or sacred tongue, from which it varied—to employ the illustration of Canon Lightfoot, who has devoted much labour to the investigation of the whole subject—much as the Italian does from the Latin. The three in fact, the sacred, the demotic, and the Coptic, represent three successive stages of a language fundamentally the same, only that the demotic in some degree, and the Coptic to a far greater extent, have been enriched or corrupted, as the case may be, by a large admixture of Greek words, derived from the Greek colonies, of which Alexandria was by far the most considerable. The Coptic, again, must be subdivided into two principal dialects, one being in use in Lower Egypt two or three centuries after Christ, and hence called the Memphitic from the old northern capital of Memphis; the other in Upper Egypt, called the Thebaic, from the hundred-gated Thebes, the metropolis of the south. These two dialects are sometimes designated respectively as the Bahiric and the Sahidic, from Arabic names of the north and south provinces, but it is an error to apply the general

term Coptic to either of them exclusively, as it sometimes is applied to the Memphitic or Bahiric alone. The Memphitic and Thebaic dialects, in each of which a perfectly independent version of the New Testament is extant, are well-defined and separate from each other. The small fragments of a translation of both Testaments in a third dialect, the Bashmuric, which seems to have been vernacular either in the Oasis of Ammon in the west, or among certain rude tribes in the Delta of the Nile, are of the less importance, inasmuch as they belong only to a secondary version grounded upon the Thebaic.

8. The other two versions, however, the Memphitic and the Thebaic, have now established their claim to be regarded among the very first of the aids to sacred criticism, subsidiary to manuscripts of the original: I say subsidiary, inasmuch as it is a principle universally acknowledged, that no reading, vouched for by versions alone, can be safely regarded as genuine. It may easily have arisen from the licence assumed by translators, or may have been the result of subsequent and ill-advised corrections. The Egyptian versions are for the end of the second and the beginning of the third century guides as faithful and trustworthy as the Syriac versions for a period earlier by eighty or a hundred years. The Memphitic bears some marks of being the prior in date, but it is under the heavy disadvantage of being known to us only through codices comparatively recent; many of them are dated after the Coptic notation of the era of the Martyrs who fell in Diocletian's persecution, A. D. 284. Out of upwards of fifty which Canon Lightfoot has catalogued and for the

most part examined, only a few fragments in the British Museum (*Additional MS.* 14,740 A) can be earlier than the tenth century, and far the greater number are a good deal later. Manuscripts of the Thebaic, on the other hand, which was always rough and unpolished, and has long since become obsolete as a language, are usually of venerable antiquity, though so few and fragmentary that a complete version of the New Testament cannot be made up from all of them put together. They were chiefly found in the museum of Cardinal Borgia, at Velletri, the contents of which are now removed to the College of the Propaganda at Rome, and were made known piecemeal by scholars whose obscure diligence well deserves our grateful praise, namely, by R. Tuki, Roman Bishop of Arsinoe, in 1778, by Mingarelli in 1785, by the Augustinian eremite Giorgi in 1789, and in a posthumous work by Woide, who edited for us the New Testament portion of Codex A (p. 55). The Memphitic version stands in pressing need of a critical reviser, who will find abundant materials ready for him. The first edition, published in 1716 by David Wilkins, a Prussian by birth, by adoption an Oxonian, faulty as it is, has not been superseded by the recent one of Schwartze (1846) and Boetticher (1852), much less by inferior reprints for native use. The support frequently accorded by the Memphitic to Codd. ℵ B jointly, by the Thebaic to Codd. B D, or to one of the two, in their characteristic readings, cannot fail to be of weight, as well in maintaining the evidence of these great manuscripts when supported by the Egyptian versions, as in throwing suspicion upon it where Coptic testimony goes the contrary way.

9. The Latin versions of Holy Scripture demand and will reward our special attention. Although we know that a branch of the Christian Church existed at Rome "many years" before S. Paul's first visit to the city (Rom. xv. 23), and already flourished there in the first century, it probably was not for the use of converts in the capital that the earliest Latin translation was made. To them S. Paul wrote his noble Epistle in Greek; the earliest Bishops of that Church were mostly Greek: even Clement their first or one of their first Bishops, and Caius the presbyter at a later period, whose names intimate a pure Roman origin, yet chose to write in Greek, a language more or less familiar even to the lowest classes in that great centre of the civilized world. In the provinces, especially at a distance from the chief seats of commerce, Latin was the only language generally spoken, and in such places the necessity must have first arisen of rendering at least the New Testament into a tongue to be "understanded of the people." The name of Cardinal Wiseman must, I fear, be handed down in English history as that of an ecclesiastic, whose rashness and vanity sorely damaged the cause which his heart was set upon serving: by Biblical students he will be commemorated, like a far greater Cardinal whom in some respects he resembled, as being, almost "from his cradle a scholar, and a ripe and good one." The Latin version has naturally a deep interest for members of his communion, and indeed, for obvious reasons, it has hardly been treated in this country with the consideration it deserves. It was Cardinal Wiseman's merit to demonstrate, some forty years since, what had been faintly

conjectured by Eichhorn and others, that the Old Latin Bible, so far as we can restore it to its primitive shape by the help of materials yet surviving, had its origin not in Italy at all, but in northern Africa, and in that province of Roman Africa where Tertullian declaimed late in the second century, where Cyprian Bishop of Carthage became a martyr in the third, where Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, compiled his huge tomes of dogmatic theology and devotional lore about the end of the fourth. To this conclusion the Cardinal was led by the style of the Old Latin version itself, which abounds in words and grammatical constructions that had long ago grown obsolete at Rome, but can be illustrated from African writers, such as the heathen Appuleius of the second century, the Christians Arnobius and Lactantius of the fourth. Rude and unclassical as the Old Latin translation no doubt is, the palpable lack of polish is not ill atoned for by a certain terseness and vigour which characterise this whole school of writers, but never degenerate into vulgarity or absolute barbarism.

10. But while it must be admitted, on grounds simply philological, that Africa was the parent of the Old Latin Bible, it is a remarkable fact that nearly all its chief manuscripts have been discovered in a different quarter, within quite a limited region in the north of Italy. Thus the most ancient and best of them, the Codex Vercellensis, called in our critical notation the italic a (*a.*), was brought to light at Vercelli in 1726 by that illustrious labourer in this department of study, Joseph Bianchini (latinized into Blanchinus), when Canon of Verona. This copy of the Gospels, unfortu-

nately much mutilated, may date from the fourth century, that is, it is not more recent than Cod. A, nearly contemporary with Codd. ℵB. In his own city Bianchini met with Cod. Veronensis (*b.* of the critics), which is hardly less ancient or valuable than its compeer. Another more modernized in regard to text (*f.*), yet still of the sixth century, was found by Bianchini at Brescia. Another very beautiful copy (*k.*), comprising the latter half of S. Mark followed by portions of S. Matthew, full of precious readings much resembling those of Codd. ℵB, as early in date as *b.*, has since been discovered among the books—a fine collection indeed—brought from Bobbio to Turin. Only two years back a fresh manuscript, Cod. Sarzannensis (*j.*), in the Church of Sarezzano near Tortona, was published by Guerrino Amelli, of the Ambrosian Library at Milan. This also belongs to the fifth century, and, like Cod. N. of the Greek (p. 78), codd. *a. b. f.* and some others, is written on purple vellum, in letters of silver and gold. The locality of all these copies might seem to indicate that they belonged to the *Italic* recension of the text, a modification which Augustine, though by nation an African, in a passage which has been tampered with by Bentley for no adequate reason, pronounces to be preferable to the other forms of the Latin, as being at once "closer to the words of the original, and more perspicuous in expressing the meaning." The Latin version of Cod. Claromontanus (*d.* of S. Paul, *see* p. 70) may be referred to the *African* recension.

11. Besides the afore-named manuscripts, found almost in a heap in Lombardy and Piedmont, we shall name in passing a few others hardly inferior to them

in date or intrinsic worth. At Paris is cod. *c.*, edited by Sabatier (1713—9), the text being quite remarkable, though the writing is no older than the eleventh century. Two are at Vienna, cod. *e.* of the fourth or fifth century, whose style is very rugged and antique, and cod. *i.* of a century later, a fragment in purple and gold. Codd. *ff*[1]., *ff*[2]., were once in the Abbey of Corbey in Picardy, where Martianay edited the former in 1695. Like some other French manuscripts (p. 70), *ff*[1]. has found its way to S. Petersburg, but its fellow is still safe at Paris. Two others, formerly in the Abbey of S. Germain des Prez (*g*[1]., *g*[2].), have disappeared altogether, unless they too are at S. Petersburg: their contents are partially known by readings extracted by Martianay, then by Sabatier and Bianchini. Since truth obliged us to speak slightingly of Cardinal Mai when he tried his prentice hand on the famous Cod. B (p. 30), we should be the more forward to acknowledge his services with reference to the Latin version, wherein he possessed the skill and knowledge of a master. To him we owe not only Cod. *h.* in the Vatican, of which Sabatier had given some specimens, but what is one of the most valuable and interesting of all documents of this class, a *Speculum* or Book of Quotations, from almost every part of the New Testament (being all the more prized, inasmuch as our main Old Latin authorities contain the Gospels alone), edited in 1843 from a manuscript of the sixth century (cod. *m.* of our critical notation) in the monastery of S. Croce at Rome, and conspicuous for being the earliest in which the clause about the Three Heavenly Witnesses (1 John v. 7, 8) is contained: it is here found in two different places.

12. The various copies which we have just enumerated, as well as some others of hardly less importance, exhibit to us a text substantially one, though with countless variations peculiar to each single copy. They must have sprung from a common source, inasmuch as the general form, both in respect to words and construction, is the same in all: occasional divergency, however extensive, cannot weaken the impression produced by resemblance, if that be too close or too constant to be attributed to chance. Yet the very amount of these variations suffices to prove at how early a period they took their rise, and it can hardly be questioned that the readings preserved in codd. *a. b. e.* and a few others, were already current before the close of the second century, and thus, to our instruction and infinite satisfaction, represent to us the contents of Greek manuscripts centuries older than themselves. The critical value of such documents can scarcely be estimated too highly, yet, by the time the end of the fourth century was reached, the lack of uniformity between the several types of the Old Latin version became a practical inconvenience which was no longer tolerable. "There are almost as many models as there are copies," exclaims S. Jerome to Pope Damasus in A.D. 384; and for once the facts of the case left no room for Jerome's characteristic habit of exaggeration. To him, as to the chief Biblical scholar then living, the Pope had entrusted the grave office of revising the older translation by the help of ancient Greek manuscripts, and of thus producing a translation which might become the standard as well for public as for private reading. Such is the origin of the New Latin, the

Common, or (as it is usually designated) the Vulgate version of the New Testament, which Jerome completed about A.D. 385, substantially, though by no means precisely, in the form that it is now known, as the "authentic" translation of the Church of Rome. Jerome did not put it forth as a new translation made from the Greek, as he did twenty years later that of the Old Testament taken from the Hebrew; but he retained, so far as faithfulness to the sacred original permitted, the diction, the idiom, the general tone of the elder Latin, which was endeared to Christians by long and familiar use. Even with all this caution to avoid offence, his work at first encountered vigorous opposition, and came into ordinary use only by slow and painful degrees. As an interpretation his Vulgate far surpasses its prototype; as an instrument of criticism it is decidedly inferior, where the evidence of the Old Latin may be had: for it does not, like its predecessor, bring before us the testimony, good or bad, of documents of the second century, but only that of manuscripts which Jerome deemed correct and ancient at the end of the fourth.

13. The literary history of the Vulgate is a vast study by itself, on which we have fortunately no need to enter now. In its purest form that version appears in the Codex Amiatinus, a noble copy of the whole Bible, stichometrically written (p. 69) by the hand of the Abbot Servandus, A.D. 541. It was brought from the great Cistercian monastery of Monte Amiatino into the Laurentian Library at Florence, and has been edited more than once. Only five years younger is the Codex Fuldensis, in the famous Abbey of Fulda in Hesse

Cassel, first applied to the recension of the text by Lachmann in 1839. Since the Vulgate was the sole Bible of Western Europe for above one thousand years, it is not surprising that more copies of it exist in public libraries than of almost all other books put together; many of them being of much use for elucidating Jerome's text, but the greater part more remarkable for the illuminations and embellishments which have been lavished upon them by skilful or pious hands. The noble volume exhibited open in the Manuscript Room of the British Museum as Charlemagne's Bible, is probably some fifty years later than his reign, although it may possibly contain certain corrections made about A.D. 797 at his request by our learned countryman Alcuin. The first printed book, as we had occasion to mention before (p. 3), was the Latin Bible of the Vulgate version; and after the Council of Trent in 1546 had stamped this translation with its sanction, in terms however ambiguous, it became the obvious duty of the Church of Rome to provide an authorized standard for general use. Sixtus V. in 1590, and after him Clement VIII. in 1592, put forth separate editions, each executed with anxious care, yet the former at least so full of errors both textual and typographical, as to have exposed the Popes and their confident yet purblind criticism to the derision of zealous polemical writers (such as Dr Th. James in his *Bellum Papale, sive Concordia Discors*, 1600), who could not let slip what appeared to them a suitable occasion for vexing the enemies they had failed to convince. We profess no sort of sympathy with this gibing spirit, especially when exercised upon topics so sacred; yet it is only right to

state that neither Sixtus' nor Clement's Bible, the latter of which is adopted for "authentic" in the Roman communion, can be relied upon in the least for critical purposes. They are constructed in a loose and unintelligent fashion, on manuscripts too recent to be trustworthy. If Codex Amiatinus was consulted for Pope Sixtus, as has been stated, it had little or no influence in forming the text. The true readings must still be sought for in the older copies among which it is paramount.

14. The Syriac, the Coptic and the Latin:—these are the principal versions, the rest being quite subsidiary or of slight consideration. To us of the Teutonic stock the Gothic is the most interesting, although more so on linguistic than critical grounds. It was made by Ulphilas, a Cappadocian, about B.C. 350, while the Goths still inhabited Mœsia, now called Bulgaria, and its dialect is marvellously akin to that of modern Germany. Besides some fragments from Bobbio discovered by Mai in 1817, and others in the Wolfenbüttel library in the same volume as the fragments Codd. PQ of the Gospels (p. 76), there is extant the superb but incomplete Codex Argenteus in the University of Upsal, on purple vellum with silver and gold letters. It was taken by the Swedes at the siege of Prague in 1648, and has been several times edited. Ten leaves, stolen about 1821, were given up by the penitent thief, more gracious than Aymont (p. 68), on his death-bed, to Uppström, who published them in 1857. The remaining versions might do us better service, if we knew better how to use them. The Armenian and Æthiopic, composed, in or about the fifth century, in languages

known to few, labour under the suspicion of having been conformed in later times to the Latin Vulgate, and, considered as versions, they have been alleged to possess little merit. The Georgian, which is said to date from the sixth century, pertains to the Armenians of the orthodox faith, and we know of no one in England who can read it, except Prebendary Malan of Broadwindsor. The Georgian is even stated to have been corrupted from the Slavonic, the version of the sister communion in Russia, made from the Greek as late as the ninth century. A secondary translation, not made from the Greek at all, can be applied only to the criticism of its own primary. Such are the Frankish and the Anglo-Saxon or Old English, various modifications of which are derived from what were considered the best copies of the Vulgate between the eighth and eleventh centuries; such too are the Persic in Walton's Polyglott and several Arabic versions, which are translated from the Peshito Syriac. Another Persic version, edited by Wheelocke (1653-7), and perhaps some out of the many Arabic versions extant (especially the Gospels in the excellent one published by Erpenius in 1616 and called from Fayūm, a province in Egypt), were rendered from Greek manuscripts too modern to be of much account.

15. The advantage we derive from versions such as most of those we have been describing, as making known to us the contents of manuscripts of the original older than any at present existing, is too great not to be held in constant remembrance. In other respects important deductions must be made before we apply their evidence to the criticism of the

sacred books. It may prove as difficult to arrive at the primitive text of the version as of the Greek itself: the variations subsisting in the copies are sometimes quite as considerable, and suspicions of subsequent correction from other sources are easily raised and hard to refute. Even so late a version as the *Fayyumiyeh* of Erpenius has been thought to be revised from the Coptic. Then again, if we take into our reckoning the genius of the language into which the Greek is turned, the skill, the care, the peculiar habits of the translator, and our own defective knowledge of the special dialect of the version, we shall perhaps never feel so secure in the application of this kind of testimony as when we come to determine the genuineness of whole sentences or clauses inserted in some Greek copies and omitted in others. "Scripture, by being translated into the tongues of many nations, assures us of the falsehood of additions," as Jerome writes to Pope Damasus in his Preface to the Vulgate Gospels. This is even now the surest benefit which versions can render to the critic.

16. Still more precarious, in the majority of cases, is the aid to be looked for from ecclesiastical writers of the early ages. These venerable persons frequently quoted Scripture loosely from memory, and usually no more of its words than suited their immediate purpose. What they actually wrote has proved peculiarly liable to change at the hand of careless scribes, who followed mechanically the readings of the New Testament they were most familiar with, instead of those set down in the model which they were transcribing. Hence it arises that, both in ordinary manu-

scripts and in printed editions, the same author is perpetually found to cite the self-same text in two or three various forms, whether in different places or on the same page of his work. Yet there are occasions when the testimony of the Fathers is so direct and full that it is absolutely conclusive as to the true reading of the copy of Scripture which lay before their eyes. Witness the representation of Matt. i. 18, as given by S. Irenæus, the light of the Church of Gaul towards the close of the second century, the disciple too of Polycarp who had conversed with the Evangelist S. John. The five books of Irenæus against Heresies, though extant chiefly in a bald Latin translation, compose, the man and his circumstances considered, one of the most precious reliques of Christian antiquity. The common reading of S. Matthew's words is "Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise;" but the Curetonian Syriac, the Old Latin copies *a. b. c. f. ff*[1]., and *d.* the Latin version of Codex Bezæ (the corresponding Greek being lost), with the Vulgate or New Latin, its satellites the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon, and Wheelocke's Persic, omit the word "Jesus." All this would signify little, inasmuch as every extant Greek manuscript has either "Jesus Christ" or "Christ Jesus," if the grave authority of Irenæus were not thrown into the opposite scale. That profound theologian, in the course of his demonstration that Jesus and Christ are the same Person (a doctrine which certain heretics had denied), presses the fact that whereas the Evangelist might very well have stated, "Now the birth of Jesus was on this wise," the Holy Spirit, foreseeing and guarding against the

fraud of depravers, saith through Matthew, "Now the birth of Christ was on this wise." We say nothing for the logical validity of this writer's inference, or for the probability of the reading he vouches for, but here at any rate is a suggestive variation from the common text adopted as if it were beyond question by such a man as Irenæus, within little more than a century after the Gospel of S. Matthew was published.

17. One more example of the value of express citation by an eminent Father shall suffice, and here it confirms the common text instead of tending to disturb it. In Luke xv. 18, 19 the prodigal, resolving to go back to his Father, frames to himself a speech fitting to the emergency, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee; I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants." When he carries his determination into happy effect in ver. 21, he addresses to his gracious Father the rest of his prepared speech, but drops the last clause, "make me as one of thy hired servants." S. Augustine, whose intellect was probably the most keen that ever yielded up its best powers to the exact study of the Bible, fails not to point out that delicate touch of true nature, in that the son, after he had once enjoyed his parent's forgiving kiss, disdains the ignoble condition of servitude which once he deemed almost too good to hope for. Yet this very clause is thrust into the text by great codices usually of the highest authority (א BD. 33 and a few others), whose tasteless interpolation is thus rebuked by one who knew the mind of the Spirit as few indeed in any age have been privileged to know.

18. It would serve no good purpose to lay before you a mere list of the ecclesiastical writers who are more or less available as instruments of criticism. Among the Greeks, the fragments of the Apostolic Fathers and their immediate followers are too scanty to supply us with much detailed information, though they afford us priceless evidence that the several books of the New Testament were familiar to the writers. Justin Martyr, who died for the faith about A.D. 149, the earliest Christian of whom any considerable remains survive the wreck of time, has a habit of rather referring to than quoting the "Memorials composed by the Apostles and their immediate followers," which he elsewhere calls "Gospels;" so that although his references are often very close and even verbally exact, an opinion, very unreasonable I must be allowed to call it, has grown up among certain in recent times, that he had before him some other compositions rather than those that now bear that holy name. Irenæus we have spoken of before. The first mention we have of various readings in Scripture occurs in his fifth book against Heresies, where he discusses the question whether the true number is 666 or 616 in Rev. xiii. 18, and expressly imputes the Apocalypse to S. John the Apostle, as Justin Martyr had done before him. Clement of Alexandria brings us into the third century, and his volumes abound with citations from Scripture, more or less precise. But the greatest name among the ancients in this branch of sacred learning is Origen, his pupil, the son of a martyr, himself a sufferer for the name of Christ (d. 254). Seldom have such warmth of fancy and so bold a grasp of mind been

associated with the life-long patient industry which procured for Origen the honourable appellation of *Adamantius.* His copious works (some of them now extant only in a poor Latin version) have been ransacked, especially by the celebrated German critic Griesbach, for the quotations or allusions to Scripture which cover every page. Often enough the results have proved merely negative. Origen may be alleged in the same disputed passage, twice or thrice on either side; or his citation is but a passing one, and no great stress can be laid on the actual words he uses. Frequently, however, the case is otherwise. Either the context proves beyond a doubt which reading he adopted, or else he formally discusses the variations which he found in his copies, and expresses a definite judgment upon their relative merits. In instances of this latter description there is no authority to compare with his for fulness of knowledge and discriminating care.

19. Coming down to the fourth century, we now have Eusebius and Jerome, both of them in regard to criticism disciples of Origen, and inclined to defer rather too much to his arbitrary decisions. The labour of Eusebius in compiling his Canons of Harmony of the Gospels (p. 34), and those of Jerome in regard to the Latin Vulgate (p. 102), we have spoken of before. Since Jerome made habitual use of Greek codices for his work of revision, he is to be regarded as a witness for the original text, not, like his western predecessors, Tertullian or Cyprian or their lesser contemporaries, for their native Old Latin translation only. Of the rest, Chrysostom's expositions frequently render it cer-

tain what readings he follows, and since his Homilies on S. Matthew are at Wolfenbüttel in a codex of the sixth century, we are so far better protected than usual from the subsequent corruption of his text (*see* p. 107). The same advantage belongs to those works of John Damascene of the eighth century, which are preserved at Paris in a manuscript apparently contemporaneous: while the Homilies on S. Luke by Cyril of Alexandria, of the fifth century, whose critical worth is greater than his age might lead us to expect, have been lately published from a Syriac version by Dr Payne Smith, the Dean of Canterbury, in such a shape that we may use them with confidence, as virtually unchanged during the lapse of so many centuries. But these instances of good fortune are exceptional and rare.

20. These, therefore, are the main sources of information: manuscripts of the original, versions, and Fathers. Our materials, abundant upon the whole, though in some directions still partial and incomplete, have been slowly accumulated by the diligence of successive generations of scholars, the principal of whom we have already enumerated (p. 14). To apply these materials wisely and soberly to the task of constructing afresh the text of the New Testament calls for critical discernment and acuteness, such as fall to the lot of few. This happy faculty has proved very deficient in the case of some that have toiled patiently and successfully at the work of collation: on the other hand, it has been bestowed in a high degree on men who as collators have accomplished comparatively little, as on Bentley, Bengel, Griesbach, and (if I may venture to refer to an elaborate edition of the New Testament

not yet given to the public) on the joint counsellors, Canon Westcott and Mr Hort. For, in fact, the results of all the *external* evidence that can be brought together to support any particular various reading are seldom so conclusive on one side or the other, as to enable us to dispense with considerations drawn from *internal* evidence: where by internal evidence we mean that exercise of the reason upon the matter submitted to it, which will often prompt us, almost by instinct, to reject one alternative and to embrace another. Nor have we much cause to fear that we shall thus come to substitute our own impressions,—our own subjective impressions, if one must use that rather affected but convenient term—in the room of the conclusions which mere written records would dictate. Whether we will or not, we unconsciously adopt that one out of two opposite statements, in themselves not unequally attested to, which we judge the better suited to recognised phenomena, and to the common course of things. Were we to try ever so much to do so, we should not find it easy to dispense with the dictates of discretion and good sense: nature would prove too strong for the dogmas of a wayward theory. Some things indeed may be very powerfully maintained, which we would not receive upon any testimony that could be produced (pp. 41—6): but the appeal to internal probabilities will be chiefly made where external evidence is evenly, or at any rate not very unevenly, balanced.

21. This just and rational use of internal testimony he is the best critic who most judiciously employs. We can say little more than this as a guide to the thoughtful student. What degree of preponderance

in favour of one out of several forms of reading (all of them affording a tolerable sense) shall entitle it to reception as a matter of right; to what extent rules of subjective criticism may be allowed to eke out the scantiness of documentary authority, are points that cannot well be defined with strict accuracy. Men's decisions respecting them will always vary according to their temperament and intellectual habits; the judgment of the same person will fluctuate from time to time as to the same evidence brought to bear on the self-same case. All we can hope to do is to set forth two or three general principles, or canons as they are called, which of course are only so far true as they are grounded on reason or taught by experience, the application of which, in spite, perhaps even in consequence, of their extreme simplicity, has proved a searching test of the tact and sagacity of all that have handled them.

Canon I. The harder reading is preferable to the easier. This is Bengel's prime rule, and looks fair enough in itself. It would seem more likely that a copyist should try to explain an obscure expression, or to relieve a harsh construction, than that he should make that perplexed which before was easy. Thus in John vii. 39, where the true reading stands "the Spirit (or "the Holy Spirit") was not yet," we are not at all surprised to find the word "given" supplied by all the versions, including our English Bible in its italic type. The difficulty would be to discover how it could have fallen out of the text, if it had ever been there, as Cod. B and one cursive of no great value would fain persuade us to believe.

Canon II. The shorter reading is more probable than the longer, it being the tendency of most scribes (though certainly not of all) rather to enlarge than to abridge. This rule applies to the case, among others, where two or more accounts of the same event or speech occur, and the fuller narrative is used to amplify the more brief. Thus in some copies of Acts ix. 5, 6, are found the words, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads. And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him," yet all this does not belong to the passage at all, but is transferred, with some change, from S. Paul's own narrative of his conversion, Acts xxvi. 14. In the parallel places of the three early or Synoptic Gospels the tendency to such accretions is very strongly marked, and its effect is of course to smooth down seeming discrepancies between them, and to bring into the other two forms or expressions belonging of right only to one. A simple case is that of the Lord's solemn declaration, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Thus it really is in Luke v. 32, from which the concluding explanation "unto repentance" has been interpolated into the two parallel passages Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17.

Canon III. In deciding on the probability of a various reading regard should be had to the peculiar style, manner, and habits of thought of the author, which copyists are very prone to overlook and so unconsciously to withdraw from sight. Thus S. Mark, though never obscure, is often singularly concise and abrupt; S. Luke in his Acts of the Apostles is fond of omitting "saith" or "said" after the word indicating the speaker, which verb is duly supplied in recent

copies in at least six places; the pointed energy of S. James leads him perpetually to neglect connecting particles, and these have been erroneously brought into the common text. Yet even this canon has a double edge, since habit or the love of critical correction will sometimes tempt the scribe to alter the text into his author's usual manner, as well as to depart from it through inadvertence.

Canon IV. Attention must also be paid to the genius and usage of each several authority, and to the independence or otherwise of the testimony borne by each. Thus the evidence of Cod. B is of the less influence in omissions and that of Cod. D or Beza's in considerable additions to the text: even so good a copy as Cod. C, by adding the clause "into repentance" in Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17, displays a proneness to the assimilation of unlike passages a little damaging to its character for purity. Again, as it would be manifestly unfair to estimate Codd. DE or FG of S. Paul's Epistles, or the four members of Ferrar's group (p. 82) when in accordance with each other, as more witnesses than one, so, even where the resemblance is less perpetual, as in the case of Codd. ℵB, it is impossible to note their close correspondence in places where they stand almost alone, without indulging the suspicion that there is some recondite connection between them of a nature which we do not fully understand, and for which some allowance is required to be made.

Canon V. would be the most valuable of all, if it were more capable of application to particular instances. It has been said that "when the cause of a various reading is known, the variation itself disappears," and this language hardly exaggerates what may be effected by internal evidence, when it is clear, simple, and unambiguous. Hence springs the rule that "that reading out of several is to be chosen, from which all the rest may have been derived, although it could not be derived from any of them." Thus in James iii. 12, if we suppose that form of the second clause to be the true one, which is supported by Codd. ℵABC and other good authority, "neither *can* salt water yield sweet," it is easy to understand how a somewhat rugged construction was gradually made to assume the shape in which it is seen in our Authorized Bible, "so *can* no fountain both yield salt water and fresh."

In our two concluding lectures we shall have fuller opportunity for tracing the influence of these rules in their practical application to the texts we shall then undertake to examine. The first canon especially, that of preferring the harder of two readings, may obviously be over-strained, and must be applied with especial caution. "To force readings into the text merely because they are difficult"—I adopt thankfully the forcible language of the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Christopher Wordsworth,—"is to adulterate the divine text with human alloy; it is to obtrude upon the reader of Scripture the solecisms of faltering copyists, in the place of the word of God."

LECTURE V.

DISCUSSION OF IMPORTANT PASSAGES IN THE HOLY GOSPELS.

We come at length to apply the principles and facts we have hitherto been concerned with to the examination of select passages in the New Testament, in which the Received reading of the Greek text, and consequently of our own English translation of it, has been called in question with more or less reason. As we stated at the outset, the great mass of variations made known to us from the enlarged study of critical authorities are quite insignificant, scarcely affecting the sense at all (p. 7), while some are of a wholly different character, so grave and perplexing that we can form no safe judgment about them without calling all available resources to our aid. Yet this last statement must be made with an important reservation, which I have purposely kept back until you can see for yourselves that it is strictly true. Be the various readings in the New Testament what they may, they do not in any way alter the complexion of the whole book, or lead us to modify a single inference which theologians have gathered from the common text, as it is now extant in our Authorized version. "Even put them into the hands of a knave or fool"—I employ the pointed language of Bentley, in

the sequel of a passage I have cited before (p. 13)—"and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity, but that every feature of it will still be the same." Certain passages, it may be, will no longer be available to establish doctrines whose proof rests secure upon a hundred besides, and this is the very worst that can happen: others, upon whose genuineness suspicion has been rashly thrown, will be cleared and vindicated by the process of exact discussion: some will assume in their new form a vigour and beauty they possessed not before. The main result of all investigations will be a thankful conviction that God's Providence has kept from harm the treasure of His written word, so far as is needful for the quiet assurance of His Church and people.

In the present lecture we shall limit our examination to passages of the Holy Gospels, reserving the other books of the New Testament for our next and concluding one. Taking them in order, the first variation of moment which meets us, is at once very instructive, and, we must add in fairness, of somewhat doubtful decision.

(1) Matth. v. 22. "Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause." The single Greek word rendered "without cause," or "lightly," is removed from the text by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort: it is retained by Griesbach and Tregelles, the latter placing it within brackets as of questionable genuineness, although neither he nor Griesbach knew of the adverse testimony of the Codex Sinaiticus. I shall name these chief critical editors of the Greek Testa-

ment from time to time, through no wish to bias your judgment by the weight of their authority, for in truth the conclusions I would have you come to will often be contrary to theirs, but that you may be aware of the results arrived at by scholars who have devoted strong natural powers or persevering industry, and in more than one instance both these qualities, to the illustration of the subject on which we are engaged. The limiting word "without cause" is not found in Codd. ℵB, or in two ordinary cursives of the twelfth century or later: it was erased from Cod. Δ by a later hand. Justin Martyr as usual (p. 110) refers to the verse too loosely to be depended on, but he has no vestige of "without cause:" the same may be said of Tertullian. Origen twice cites the passage without it, but makes no comment; and his follower Jerome, a century later, expressly states that, although found in certain manuscripts, the true copies (which we may suppose to be Origen's) have it not. Accordingly he proceeds to erase it from his Vulgate or New Latin translation, although every known manuscript of the Old Latin version, and the early Latin writers, Cyprian, Hilary and Lucifer, retained it. The only other versions omitting the term, are just those of small account which are ascertained to have been made or corrected by the Vulgate, namely, the Æthiopic, Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, Arabic of the Polyglott, all in this instance distinctly traceable to the influence of Origen over Jerome's mind. Augustine also, who had once dwelt upon it, when late in life he had come to write his famous book of *Retractationes*, adopted after Jerome a reading so congenial to his taste. It unfortunately happens that we are here de-

prived of the help, not only of Cod. A (which begins with ch. xxv. 6), but also of C: but all other known Greek codices save the four above-named read "without cause," comprising D and L, the usual ally of B, the cursives 1. 33, and the whole host besides. In questions like the present, versions, we know, are of special use (p. 107), but all versions save those named above have the word: the Old Latin, all the four Syriac, the Memphitic (the Thebaic being wanting), the Armenian, the Gothic. Of the Fathers, Chrysostom presses the fact that not all anger is prohibited, but what is unseasonable, causeless, in vain. Irenæus, even Origen once in the Latin (p. 111), Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, retain the word in their quotations. Much like this omission is the expunging of "falsely," (ver. 11), which is not in the corresponding place of S. Luke (ch. vi. 22), by Cod. D and some Latins only.

We will not hesitate to say that on the whole external evidence preponderates in favour of the retention of "without cause." It is the earlier, fuller, less equivocal: internal considerations are possibly more ambiguous. "Griesbach and Meyer," says Dean Alford, "hold it to have been expunged from motives of moral rigorism—De Wette to have been inserted to soften the apparent rigour of the precept," which would bring it under our first, or Bengel's, canon (p. 114). Different critics of the highest rank, all very competent to judge if they would but agree in their judgment, come each to the conclusion which best suits his own temperament and tone of mind. My esteemed friend, Professor Milligan, perhaps a little over-states the matter when he says "The precept, if we omit the phrase, is in striking

harmony with the at first sight sharp, extreme, almost paradoxical character of various other precepts of the 'Sermon on the Mount.'" The common text is best as it stands.

(2) MATT. vi. 13 (part). "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen." The question here is whether these words formed originally a portion of the Lord's Prayer, and consequently of S. Matthew's Gospel, or whether they are an early addition to it, brought in from the Liturgies which from the earliest times were in solemn use in the Church. It is so far in favour of this doxology that its absence from S. Luke's Gospel might lead to its rejection here, and it makes nothing against it that it was moulded upon such passages as 1 Chr. xxix. 11; 2 Chr. xx. 6; to which we are not disposed to add with some the Apocryphal 1 Esdras (or "The Priest," as the Greeks call that book) iv. 59, or the last clause of the Prayer of Manasses, which latter may very well have been borrowed from the Gospel. Yet, looking to the documentary evidence, it is hard to suppress the growing conviction that modern editors have done right in removing it from the text. Codd ℵBD and the Dublin palimpsest Z (p. 76) omit the clause, Codd. AC are defective here, so that Cod. L is really the best uncial that reads it, although Cod. Δ and all the later side with L, as do all cursives (even Cod. 33) except five, whereof Cod. 1 alone is of much account, and another (Cod. 209, at Venice) is little more than a transcript of B. A few others exhibit the obelus, a mark of possible spuriousness, set in the margin, and the valuable Cod. 157 (p. 82) with two or three more annex to "glory"

the impossible addition "of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," obviously taken from the Liturgies. Here again is a point on which versions may be used with safety (p. 107), and the doxology is wanting in the chief Old Latin codices *a. b. c. ff.' g.'* and others, in the Vulgate (only that Pope Clement's edition ends the Lord's Prayer with "Amen"), and its satellites the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon. Its absence from the Latin versions caused the doxology to be unknown in Latin service-books, nor indeed is it found in those portions of our own Book of Common Prayer which were derived immediately from the Latin. It is contained in all four Syriac versions (Cureton's omitting "and the power"), in the Thebaic (omitting "and the glory"), in the text of most Memphitic and in the margin of others, in the very excellent Old Latin *k.* (omitting "the kingdom" "and the glory"), *f.* and others, in the Æthiopic and Armenian, here at any rate free from Latin influence, the Gothic, Georgian, Sclavonic, one form of the Persic, and the Arabic of Erpenius. Of the Fathers, Origen in the third century, Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth, formally expound the Lord's Prayer without shewing any knowledge of its existence, while Chrysostom, a little later than Cyril, comments upon it without displaying the least consciousness of its doubtful character. It is first met with in the Apostolical Constitutions, a work which, in its existing shape, dates from the fourth century, or possibly a little sooner, and is full of Liturgical matter. That the doxology, in its place at the end of the Lord's Prayer, existed as early as the second century, is evident from the testimony of the versions, although the variations observed in the Cure-

tonian Syriac, the Thebaic, and Cod. *k.* may lead us to believe that it had not yet received its ultimate form. It can hardly be upheld any longer as a portion of the sacred text.

(3) MATTH. xi. 19. "But wisdom is justified of her children:" "of," as one scarcely needs say, being here the archaic English for "by," the clause intimates that Divine wisdom is justified, or acquiesced in, by those who are nurtured therein. Now this whole passage, from ver. 2 downwards, so closely resembles Luke vii. 18—35, both in matter and in language, that we may be quite sure that the two Evangelists are relating the same holy discourse, delivered by the Lord under the self-same circumstances. No more exact parallel can be conceived to exist between two writers, who probably derived their information from the same source, whether oral or documentary, without having seen each the other's Gospel. Hence, in the midst of so much similarity throughout, it is inconceivable that the closing words of each narrative should for the first time be entirely unlike, and give quite a different sense, if indeed it can be said of one of them that it affords any satisfactory sense at all. Yet for "children," which all retain in S. Luke, Tischendorf and Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, would here read "works." One has no wish to deny the general tendency of scribes to assimilate the very expressions of the several Evangelists, and, as a rule, this tendency ought to be fully allowed for; but on the present occasion such a consideration can have no place: verbal variation is one thing, complete divergency of meaning is another. The Lord must have said either "children" or "works" (the two words do not differ

much in the Greek), He cannot have employed both terms in the same breath. This was so plainly seen by the scribe of Cod. Sinaiticus that, with a bold consistency which we noted in him in regard to another passage (p. 49), he adopts "works" in S. Luke also, where he is countenanced by no authority save S. Ambrose, who alleges that "most Greeks so have it." In S. Matthew, while the external testimony is insufficient against the weight of internal evidence, yet is by no means insignificant in itself: the combination of the Peshito and Memphitic versions would alone entitle what they vouch for to grave attention. We find "works" in Codd. ℵB (but B has been subsequently altered) 124 (yet not its two fellows, Codd. 13. 346; Cod. 69 being here deficient: *see* p. 82), some Greek scholia or notes, manuscripts known to Jerome, in the Peshito and text of the Philoxenian Syriac, the Memphitic, certain Armenian codices, the Æthiopic (some forms of which present us with the two readings united), and in the Persic of the Polyglott, which is derived from the Peshito. In defence of "children" are cited Codd. CDLΔ and all other uncials and cursives (including 1. 33), Cureton's Syriac and the margin of the Philoxenian, all the Latin versions Old and New, Origen and Chrysostom.

Those who defend the variation "works" naturally press into their service Bengel's canon (p. 114), that the harder reading is to be preferred to the easier; but this is just an instance in which the interests of common sense compel us to set bounds to its operation. A resort to the forced explanation of referring the expression "works" to the life of Jesus or the life of John, where-

by wisdom is or was justified, commended, vindicated, can satisfy no one who has not made up his mind beforehand that the common reading is unquestionably false.

(4) MATT. xvi. 2, 3. It is not hard to see why these verses, the first clause of ver. 2 excepted, have been treated as doubtful by the most recent editors of the New Testament. The words run, with a slight variation from our Authorized version, "When it is evening, ye say, *It will be* fair weather: for the heaven is red. And in the morning, *It will be* foul weather to day: for the heaven is red and lowring. Ye know how to discern the face of the heaven; but can ye not *discern* the signs of the times?" The exclamation "O ye hypocrites" of the common text, is undoubtedly spurious. Once before, in ch. xii. 38—40, the same request had been made by gainsayers, "Shew us a sign from heaven," and the answer rendered was the same in substance as in this passage, save that the sentences we have quoted are not found in the earlier place: hence the temptation to pass them by on the part of copyists, whose climate moreover the natural phenomena described therein did not very well suit. Yet it really seems impossible for any one possessed of the slightest tincture of critical instinct to read the verses thoughtfully, without feeling sure that they were actually spoken by the Lord; so that, internal evidence in their favour being clear and well-nigh irresistible, the opposing witnesses rather damage their own authority than impair our confidence in our conclusion. These witnesses, however, are in themselves considerable—Codd. ℵB and three other late but ordinarily good uncials

(one other uncial marking the whole with an asterisk), that excellent cursive 157, two of Ferrar's group (13. 124: *see* p. 82, note) and some eleven others: the verses are noticed, however, in the commentary annexed to two copies which omit them. Of the versions, the Curetonian and the Armenian (before it was corrupted from the Latin) reject the passage, and (as it would seem from Mill) some codices of the Memphitic. Origen does not comment upon it, while Jerome, in his sweeping way, alleges that it is not contained in most manuscripts. All other authorities side with the common text, which Jerome in his Vulgate does not venture to tamper with. Eusebius acknowledges the verses, inasmuch as he adapted to them his system of canons and sectional divisions of this Gospel: he rightly makes them parallel with Luke xii. 54—56.

Examples of this kind—of which we shall hereafter meet with not a few, where testimony, which on the whole cannot possibly be admitted, is both weighty in itself and comes to us from several sources apparently independent of each other—suggest the suspicion that the Holy Gospels, like other works both in ancient and modern times, may have circulated in more than one edition, the earlier wanting some passages which the sacred writers inserted in the later. Sufficient attention has hardly been paid to a supposition which would account for discrepancies otherwise very perplexing; and it is evident that transcripts might have been made from the first issue which, being propagated in distant lands, would always keep up the difference between the several recensions, each as it came from the author's hand. Some such process as this may be

seen by comparing the song of David in 2 Sam. xxii. with Ps. xviii., the historical book obviously exhibiting an early draft of the more finished composition in the Psalm.

(5) MATT. xvii. 21. "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." We have here a striking exemplification of the second rule laid down in our last lecture (p. 115), there being reason to think that this verse is but an accretion, taken, with some slight variation, from the parallel place, Mark ix. 29. Otherwise the omission is not imperatively demanded by the state of the evidence, although that is ancient and drawn from various quarters. It consists of Codd. ℵ (by the first hand) B. 33, the Curetonian and Jerusalem Syriac, the Thebaic and one or more copies of the Memphitic known through Mill, *e.* and *ff.*[1] of the Old Latin, both of high value, some forms of the Æthiopic, and Eusebius, as seen from his arrangement of his canon in S. Mark. We are attaching great force to internal probabilities when we allow such a scanty roll to outweigh the far more numerous and equally varied authorities that uphold the verse, namely Codd. ℵ (by an early second hand) CDL, all other uncials, every cursive save one, the Peshito and Philoxenian Syriac, the Memphitic in most copies, the Armenian, all other forms of the Old and Vulgate Latin, followed by the Latin Fathers Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine, by Origen among the Greeks and Chrysostom in his commentary very distinctly.

(6) In the preceding verse occurs another doubtful question, in reference to which we have to choose between "Because of your little faith," the gentler,

intrinsically perhaps the more likely reading, and "Because of your faithlessness" or "unbelief," the more emphatic term. In the Greek, of course, the two words are much alike, and in point of moral feeling the variation much reminds us of ch. v. 22 (p. 119), only that the chief witnesses for the stronger form in that place here advocate what might seem to be the weaker. "Little faith" is the reading of Codd. ℵ B. 1. 22 (the valuable cursive, Paris 72), 33, the three here extant of Ferrar's group (13. 124. 346: *see* p. 82, note), of Cureton's Syriac, both Egyptian, the Armenian and Æthiopic versions, of Origen, Chrysostom (very expressly, but in one manuscript only), John Damescene in his oldest copy (p. 112), but among the Latins of Hilary alone. All the rest, Codd. CDL, the host of later uncials and cursives, the Peshito and Philoxenian Syriac, the Latins and one Armenian copy after them, maintain the common text. On the one hand it may be urged that "faithlessness" was suggested by the epithet "faithless" in ver. 17, on the other that although "little faith" occurs nowhere else as a noun in the New Testament, yet the epithet "O thou" or "ye of little faith" had been already met with in this Gospel four times over. The choice is delicate, and the difference small.

(7) Of a widely different character is the grave discrepancy of our authorities in Matt. xix. 17, which runs in our Authorized Bible "Why callest thou me good? *there is* none good but one, *that is* God," which precisely corresponds with the wording of the two parallel places, Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19. In all the three "Why callest thou me good?" has a distinct reference to the address "Good Master" in the preceding

verse. But in S. Matthew the adjective "good" before "Master" is more than doubtful, while he stands alone in representing the question to be "what good thing shall I do?", the other two simply putting the inquiry "what shall I do?" This divergency in the verse before prepares the mind for the larger one in ver. 17, "Why askest thou me of that which is good? One there is who is good:" the discussion of which various reading is the more important, inasmuch as the alteration cannot be accidental. On the one part or the other it must have been made designedly for obvious reasons; and I am the more called upon to lay before you the state of the case as clearly as I can, because I once strove hard to vindicate the common Greek text, and can now do so no longer.

It may be seen that the key of the whole position is the epithet "good" before "Master" in ver. 16, for if this be genuine, the only pertinent answer is contained in the Received text. Now this first "good" is omitted in Codd. ℵBDL and in four cursives, two of them being very excellent (1. 22), in three chief copies of the Old Latin (*a. e. ff*[1].), in the Æthiopic, in Origen twice, and of the early Latin in Hilary also. Regard being had to its presence in the other Gospels, the uncials alone would suffice to justify its omission, by virtue of Canon II. (p. 115). The new and now most appropriate form of the answer "Why askest thou me of that which is good? One there is who is good," is vouched for by the same great uncials Codd. ℵBDL, by 1. 22., and to some extent by another cursive, and by versions far more numerous and important than those which only omit the first "good"

in ver. 16, namely by Cureton's and the Jerusalem Syriac, by the Memphitic and Armenian, by the Old Latin *a. b. c. e. ff*[1]. *ff*[2]. *g*[1]. and others, by the New or Vulgate Latin, after Jerome, with the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon in its wake. A few of these versions add "*that is* God" at the end, while the Philoxenian Syriac, the Æthiopic, Codd. *g*[1]. *m*. and others of the Old Latin, take the first clause from the amended, the second from the Received text: "Why askest thou me of that which is good? *There is* none good but one, *that is* God." The evidence of Origen also, on which great stress has been deservedly laid, avails for the first of the two clauses, not at all for the second. "Now Matthew," he says, "wrote on the supposition that the Saviour was asked about a good work in the question, What good shall I do? But Mark and Luke state that the Saviour said, Why callest thou me good? *there is* none good but One, *that is* God." Nothing can be more explicit, so far as the question extends "Why askest thou me of that which is good?" Thus far also goes Augustine, who, like Origen, expressly discriminates the language of the Evangelists.

We cannot refuse to admit a complex reading which is consistently upheld by considerations so powerful, yet the case for the Received text even now looks strong, consisting as it does of Cod. C and all uncials except the aforesaid four, of Codd. 33. 69 (which commences with Matt. xviii. 15), all cursives but two, of the Peshito Syriac and Thebaic versions, and of Fathers ancient as Justin Martyr (in spite of his looseness in citation), and Irenæus in the second century, of Hilary, Optatus, and Ambrose against all

their own Latin copies except two (*f.* however, being one), of Eusebius, Chrysostom, and a host of later ecclesiastical writers.

(8) The next passage to which your notice will be directed is very easily dealt with: in fact, it is mentioned chiefly to shew on what slight grounds a gloss will sometimes find its way into the text and continue there. In Matt. xxvii. 35, after the Evangelist's words "And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots:" is added in our common Bibles a clause not belonging to this Gospel, but borrowed from John xix. 24, with just one expression assimilated to S. Matthew's usual manner, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots (Ps. xxii. 18)." Uncial authority the passage has absolutely none before Cod. Δ of the ninth century (p. 74). Since Erasmus found it in his Cod. 1 (p. 80), it crept into his, the first published edition of the New Testament: it is not found in the great Complutensian Polyglott of Cardinal Ximenes, which was printed in 1514, but did not appear before 1522, too late to have the influence it well deserved over the Greek text then issuing from the press in various forms. Besides Codd. Δ. 1, nine other cursives (Ferrar's 69. 124 being among them) have been alleged in its support, though with some small variations of reading. Of the Fathers Eusebius cites it in this Gospel nearly alone. Its main support rests on certain forms of the Latin, *a. b. c.* g^2. &c., Pope Clement's Vulgate after the great Codex Amiatinus, but not Pope Sixtus' or the majority of the Vulgate manuscripts. The

versions which depend on or have been corrected from the Vulgate also contain it, as the Armenian, Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, the Roman Arabic, and Persic of the Polyglott. Tremellius first interpolated the Peshito with this sentence, by turning the Greek words into Syriac: it is wholly unknown to Syriac codices and to Widmanstadt's primary edition (p. 90). The Philoxenian text too contains it, but with a marginal note which strongly condemns it.

A case resting on such evidence cannot stand for a moment; but if the testimony were anything like equally divided, a plea might be set up for the additional sentence on the ground that the clause before it and its own conclusion both end in "cast lots." Those who have any experience in the collation of manuscripts of every kind are familiar with a source of error technically called *homœoteleuton,* that is, *like ending,* whereby the eye of the scribe or the press compositor is apt to wander from the end of the first clause to the similar ending of the second, completely overlooking all the words that lie between them.

(9) MARK vi. 20. "For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and a holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly." Perhaps no one ever pondered over this verse without feeling that the clause "he did many things" is very feeble in so clear and vigorous a writer as S. Mark, and indeed hardly intelligible as it stands. Conjecture has been employed upon it to no purpose, and we may say at once that mere conjecture seldom does effect any thing for a passage

like this. But four of our best authorities here exhibit a reading which, once heard, can hardly fail of immediate acceptance: instinct in such cases taking the lead of reasoning. The Greek for "he did" is *ĕpoiei* (ἐποίει): in its place Codd. ℵBC and the Memphitic version have *ēpŏrei* (ἠπόρει) "he was perplexed," a word dissimilar neither to the eye nor the ear. I say "to the ear" in case any one may think, which I do not, that ancient manuscripts were transcribed rather from dictation than by the immediate act of copying: of the slovenly practice of dictation I can discern no considerable traces. Few as our authorities here are, they are many enough and good enough for our purpose, when the sense so powerfully recommends them; for the passage now reads admirably: "when he heard him, he was much perplexed, and heard him gladly," a lively picture indeed of the inward struggle of conscience in a bad man's mind, enslaved by sinful indulgence, yet not void of admiration for what was pure and noble. The Greek word rendered "much" (πολλὰ) is so used in five other places in this Gospel (ch. iii. 12; v. 10, 23, 38; ix. 26).

(10) MARK vii. 19. "Because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the draught, purging all meats." Here again we have a verse which affords, in its last clause, no satisfactory meaning. What is it that "purgeth all meats"? The Greek participle, being in the neuter gender, can be in concord with none of the nouns in the verse, but must be referred to that which entereth into a man from without in the preceding verse: yet how that can in any way be said to "purge all meats" it

is not at all easy to determine. In this dilemma we have but to turn to the various readings annexed to critical editions to see our way clear at once. We there discover that the participle is not neuter at all, but masculine, the difference between the forms being only the substitution of the long *omega* (ω) for the short *omicron* (ο), a minute change abundantly accounted for by the *itacism* (p. 39). The masculine form is that of Codd. ℵABL, of Ferrar's four cursives (13. 69. 124. 346) and a large number of others, as well as of Erasmus in his first two editions; while the neuter has far less support. The Latin versions are necessarily neutral, the Peshito Syriac falsely refers the participle to the noun immediately preceding. The masculine participle has the Divine Speaker for its subject, and is not a part of the Lord's discourse, but a brief passing comment of S. Mark himself, "*This he said*, pronouncing all things clean," much in the same way as the writer interposes in ch. iii. 30 "Because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." Thus simply and expressively the Greek Fathers, such as Origen and Chrysostom, understood the sense, and it is strange that their exposition should have been lost sight of, illustrated as it is by Acts x. 15 "What God hath cleansed, *that* call not thou common."

(11) MARK ix. 29. "This kind can come forth by nothing, save by prayer and fasting." In discussing the parallel place, Matt. xvii. 21, we assented to the opinion of recent critics that the verse was interpolated from the present passage: we must resist their wish to expunge from this verse the concluding words "and fasting." The evidence on which, internal considerations

inducing us, we were content to act in the former case was far from considerable: in this instance it is even weaker, being Codd. א (by the first hand) B, the Latin *k.*, and the silent help of Clement of Alexandria: literally nothing more. It is indeed true that in two places in the New Testament (Acts x. 30; 1 Cor. vii. 5) "fasting" has been joined on to "prayer" in the common text, whereas it is not recognized by the best authorities, but the case against the word "fasting" is much stronger in them than here. The genuineness of both terms in Acts xiii. 2, 3; xiv. 23, has never been disputed, and we cannot deny too earnestly an unjust charge occasionally brought against the copyists of our Greek manuscripts, that they accommodated the text before them to the ascetic practices of their own times.

(12) MARK xv. 28. "And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors." Just as the clause from Ps. xxii. 18 has been wrongly transferred from its proper place in John xix. 24 to Matt. xxvii. 35 (p. 132), so must we confess that the present citation from Isai. liii. 12 has been brought into S. Mark's text from Luke xxii. 37. Appeals to the Old Testament Scriptures are not much in this Evangelist's manner, and the tendency to enlargement from other Gospels would alone render the passage suspicious (p. 115). The verse is wanting in Codd. אABCD, in another good uncial, while in Δ and one other it is alleged to be marked as doubtful by means of an obelus or asterisk. As many as 25 cursives are said to make for omission, as well as about 20 Church lesson-books, some of them being uncials (*but see* p. 77). Of the versions, only the Thebaic and the Old Latin *k.* reject it,

but it seems doubtful whether Eusebius acknowledged ver. 28 in arranging his canon. The mass of the later uncials (including Codd. LP), the most and best cursives, and almost all the versions retain the verse: internal considerations, however, are somewhat adverse to it, and, that being the case, the united testimony of the five chief uncials is simply irresistible.

(13) MARK xvi. 9—20. We have now reached the most important passage in the New Testament upon which the researches of modern criticism have tended to throw a doubt, and we rejoice in the assurance that, the more closely it is scrutinized, the more manifestly it will be seen to form a genuine portion of the second Gospel. The paragraph is not found at all in Codd. אB, the two oldest of all, but in the case of B with the suggestive peculiarity of the vacant column described in a former lecture (p. 57)[1], which leads Mr Burgon of Oriel not very unreasonably to claim Cod. B as a witness in favour of these twelve verses, whose existence its scribe was plainly aware of, if he had them not in the archetype before him. The case of Cod. L, B's close ally, must be stated at length, and I may say in passing that I trust that no one will think his pains thrown away upon this whole most interesting discussion. At the end of ver. 8 the copyist breaks off with the words "for they were afraid," on the last line but one of a column. Then at

[1] We prefer to lay no stress on Tischendorf's opinion that the leaves containing Mark xvi. in א and B were written by the same scribe, yet besides the similarity of handwriting, on which no one would like to insist too confidently, there are other circumstances, apparently unnoticed by Tischendorf, which corroborate his judgment. In that case Codd. אB would for this passage make but one witness, not two.

the top of the next column, but in the same hand (of the eighth century be it remembered) the following note occurs:—"And this also is somewhere extant: And they briefly announced all that was bidden them to Peter and his company. And after this also Jesus himself from the east even to the west sent forth through them the holy and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation. And this also is extant after 'for they were afraid:'" then follow ver. 9—20 in their usual form. The scribe knew of two separate endings of S. Mark's Gospel, and lacked the critical skill required to discern the true from the false. The Old Latin *k*. also, so often the associate of Codd. ℵB, sets in the room of the last twelve verses a loose translation of the note given in Cod. L, as also do two Æthiopic manuscripts. Besides the aforenamed, ver. 9—20 are omitted in some old Armenian codices and an Arabic Church lesson-book of the ninth century; and L's note is found in the margin of one cursive of the tenth century (Cod. 274), of one Memphitic copy, and of the Philoxenian Syriac.

The proofs of the genuineness of ver. 9—20 seem quite overwhelming. They are contained in Codd. ACD (which last is defective from ver. 15), in all other uncials, in all cursives without exception; in the Syriac, in the Curetonian (which, by a singular happiness, contains ver. 17—20, though no other portion of S. Mark), the Peshito, the Jerusalem, and Philoxenian text, in the Thebaic (ver. 20 alone being preserved), the Memphitic, all the Old Latin except *k*. (but *a*. by the first hand and *b*. *e*. are defective), the Vulgate, the Gothic (to ver. 12), the Georgian and lesser versions,

even the Æthiopic and Armenian[1] with the exceptions stated above. Of ancient writers, the paragraph was known possibly to Papias, probably to Justin Martyr, certainly to Irenæus in the second century; to Hippolytus and apparently to Celsus in the third; to the Persian sage Aphraates (in a Syriac Homily dated A.D. 337), to Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, in the fourth. Add to this the fact of which Mr Burgon has made such excellent use, that in the Calendar of Church lessons, which existed unquestionably in the fourth century, very probably much earlier, the passage formed part of a special service for so high a feast as Ascension Day, and was used on other occasions in the ordinary course of Divine service.

Unless Eusebius is retailing at second-hand the views of Origen, whom he much imitated, we meet with the earliest hint of doubt thrown on the paragraph in a treatise of his, first published by Cardinal Mai, in 1847, his "Questions to Marinus." He is busily engaged in his attempt to harmonize the Synoptic Gospels, a study which gave rise to his system of canons we have spoken of so often. Like every one else who has made the attempt, he found the enterprise full of difficulties, although they, as the critics often tell us, only make the genuineness of a passage the more sure (p. 114). He is perplexed how to reconcile the time of the Resurrection as described in Matt. xxviii. 1 with what is stated in Mark xvi. 9. His solution is two-fold: the second we

[1] But we ought to add that some Armenian codices which contain the paragraph have the subscription "Gospel after Mark" at the end of ver. 8 as well as of ver. 20, as though they (like Cod. L) recognized a double ending to the book.

need not concern ourselves with; it is a curious device of punctuation invented for those who might reject his first, which, in Eusebius' own language, runs as follows:—

"He who is for getting rid of the section which speaketh of this [i.e. ver. 9] would say that it is not met with in all the copies of S. Mark's Gospel: the accurate copies, at any rate, circumscribe the end of S. Mark's history in the words of the young man who was seen by the women and said unto them, 'Fear not, ye seek Jesus of Nazareth,' and so on: to which he adds 'and when they heard it they fled, neither told they any thing to any man, for they were afraid.' For at this point, in nearly all the copies of S. Mark's Gospel, the end is circumscribed. What follows, being met with rarely in some, but not in all, would be superfluous, especially if it contained a contradiction to the testimony of the other Evangelists. This one would say if he deprecated and would entirely get rid of a superfluous question."

Just so: the short way with objectors to the variation of this passage from the other Gospels would be to deny the genuineness of the paragraph, which Eusebius hardly chooses to do himself, though most of the copies known to him—Codd. ℵB might very well be among them—did not contain the disputed verses. Jerome, as usual, repeats and almost exaggerates his predecessor's statement, although he did not venture to act upon it when revising the Latin Vulgate. Mr Burgon abundantly demonstrates that all the subsequent evidence which has been collected against the verses, whether bearing the name of Severus of Antioch, of Hesychius, or any other, down to Euthymius Zigabenus in the twelfth century, is a mere echo of Eusebius, deriving all knowledge of the matter from him.

Directly opposed to his statements are those of Victor of Antioch, who in the fifth century wrote a

commentary on S. Mark's Gospel, which fills the ample margins of not a few of the cursive manuscripts. He too, like Eusebius, found many copies in which the twelve verses were wanting. This set him upon looking into the matter, and he fairly tells us the result: "but since we found them in most of the accurate copies and in the Palestine copy of S. Mark's Gospel," we have used them, as the truth required. This Palestine copy to which Victor refers is probably of the same character with the ancient Jerusalem copies to which certain other scribes appeal in their margins in defence of the self-same paragraph. Now it is a sad token of the heedlessness with which important subjects of sacred criticism have sometimes been handled, that those very manuscripts of this Gospel—they are no less than twenty-four in all—which contain in their several margins Victor's decided judgment in favour of the genuineness of ver. 9—20, have, for this very reason and no other, been cited by one editor after another as adverse to them.

It is absolutely impossible that S. Mark's Gospel can have ended abruptly with the words "for they were afraid." Mr Kelly puts this very well when he asks "Can any one, who knows the character of the Lord and of His ministry, conceive for an instant that we should be left with nothing but a message baulked through the alarm of women?" Accordingly, certain theologians, who feel unable to conclude that S. Mark wrote the passage, are willing to concede that it was appended to his unfinished work in primitive times, and that it is rightly entitled to be regarded as Canonical. These writers urge against us a certain difference of style subsisting between the twelve verses and the

rest of S. Mark's Gospel, a difference, we are persuaded, more apparent than real, and from which no safe conclusion can be drawn within so small a compass. This Evangelist's pregnant brevity is conspicuous enough in them, and, for the rest, nothing can well be more precarious than objections grounded on minutiæ of this kind. Professor Broadus of South Carolina, for instance, has established quite a strong case in favour of the identity of authorship by reason of the similarity of the phraseology, and Mr Burgon, to whose splendid monograph on the subject we thankfully recur for the last time, justifies in full detail his deliberate conviction that the supposed adverse argument drawn from peculiarities of language "breaks down hopelessly under severe analysis."

I fear that some of those I am trying to interest in these studies have found the foregoing discussion rather tedious and dry, although I have aimed throughout to limit my view to the broad issues of the question, overlooking, as much as possible, many an interesting by-point which seemed less relevant to the main topic of our examination. I venture, however, to hope that I have carried those who have followed me throughout to the conclusion announced from the first, that the last twelve verses of this second Gospel are, beyond all doubt or misgiving, an original and genuine portion of the Evangelist's divine work.

(14) LUKE ii. 14. It is well known to those who love ecclesiastical music, that the first clause of the Angelic Hymn appears in a different form in the Roman Mass-book and in the English Communion Service. The cause of this variation is that the

former follows the Vulgate Latin version of the New Testament, the latter the Received text of the Greek. This, the common text, is transparently clear.

> Glory to God in the highest,
> And on earth peace:
> Good will among men.

The words are distributed, after the Hebrew fashion, into a stanza consisting of three members. In the first and second heaven and earth are contrasted; the third refers to both the preceding, and alleges the efficient cause which has brought to God glory and on earth peace. By the addition of a single letter (ς, *sigma*) to the end of the last line, so as to turn the Greek word rendered "good will" from the nominative into the genitive case, the rhythmical arrangement is sorely marred, and the simple shepherds sent away with a message, whose diction no scholar has yet construed to his mind. Let us look to the evidence upon which rests a change so slight in itself, so momentous in its results. Of the five great uncials C is defective here, but the *sigma* indicating the genitive is found in Codd. ℵABD, and in no other Greek manuscript whatsoever. Of these, however, ℵ and B have been corrected by later hands, D is much associated with the Latin version, in every form of which the genitive occurs, and the testimony of A may be cited on both sides, inasmuch as in the primitive 14th or Morning Hymn, a cento of Scripture texts, annexed to the Book of Psalms, it actually reads the nominative, and such was no doubt the form used in Divine Service by the early Greek Church. The

Gothic version and the Latin Fathers Hilary and Augustine, the translator of Irenæus and the rest, naturally follow the Latin translations, and Jerome manifestly adopts the same form when rendering from Origen a passage not extant in the Greek. Origen's own text, in three several places, has the nominative, although no special stress is laid upon it by him. For the common text we allege Cod. L and all other uncials as yet unnamed, including Cod. Ξ (*xi*) of Tregelles, a palimpsest fragment of S. Luke which often favours B[1], all cursives of every kind, the three Syriac versions here extant, and that most explicitly, with the Armenian and Æthiopic. Here too comes in the evidence of the Greek Fathers—their virtually unanimous evidence, from which, in a matter of this kind, there ought to be no appeal. Of Origen we have already spoken: but the Apostolical Constitutions and Methodius, at the end of the third century or early in the fourth; Eusebius, Aphraates the Persian, Titus of Bostra, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius and Chrysostom throughout the fourth; Cyril of Alexandria in three places, other authorities less weighty because less ancient, all maintain the text as we find it in the ordinary Greek copies.

If the genitive were taken, it would of course be necessary to extract from it some tolerable sense, an endeavour which has hitherto met with small success.

[1] Called Cod. Zacynthius, as brought from Zante in 1821 into the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It has around the text a copious commentary or catena, and although not earlier than the eighth century, exhibits the Vatican chapters (*see* p. 28) in its margin. It contains 342 verses down to Luke xi. 33, and was edited by Tregelles in 1861.

Arranged as Hebrew poetry it would then consist of only two very unequal members:

Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace among men of good pleasure.

God's glory is in the highest places, peace among them in whom He is well pleased; or, as the Vulgate suggests, "among those disposed to receive it," a limitation of the grace of the Gospel, which, as Dean Alford justly remarks, is as untenable in Greek as in theology. Yet what else than this the genitive can mean it is hard indeed to say.

(15) Luke vi. 1. The phrase "second sabbath after the first" has perplexed every commentator, and being one which occurs nowhere else, will probably never be satisfactorily explained. Since the season is early harvest, no conjecture is more probable than that it was the sabbath immediately after the first or great Paschal sabbath, on the morrow after which day was waved the sheaf of the first-fruits (Lev. xxiii. 10, 11): thus corresponding to our Saturday in Easter week. The expression "on another sabbath" (ver. 6) seems to favour the notion that the previous one had been definitely indicated, and here, at any rate, Bengel's canon may find a fit place, which declares that a reading is not the less probable because it is difficult. The epithet "second after the first," however, is wholly omitted in Codd. ℵBL 1. 22. 33. 69. 118. 157. 209 (*see* p. 122). Two of the usual associates of Cod. 69, namely 13. 124, together with Codd. RΓ and a few others, exhibit a form differing from that of the Received text only by a familiar itacism. Since this verse commences an ecclesiastical lesson, all Church

Lectionaries (the Jerusalem Syriac among them) omit the note of time, as they usually do in such cases. Nor ought we to wonder if some versions, according to their wont, pass over altogether an expression which their translators could not understand. Hence its absence from the Peshito Syriac and Memphitic (the Thebaic is not extant), the Old Latin *b. c.* and two or three other copies, from both Persic, and some forms of the Æthiopic and Arabic. How such a term could have got into the text unless it were genuine has baffled and must baffle conjecture. We retain it without hesitation on the evidence of Codd. ACD, of all other uncials and cursives not named before, the best Old Latin codices (*a. f. ff*^{2}. *g*$^{1.2}$), all manuscripts of the Vulgate, the Armenian, Gothic and Philoxenian Syriac versions, although this last notes in the margin its absence from some copies. Add to this list the ecclesiastical writers and scholiasts who have tried their hand, with whatever success, upon various explanations: such are Cæsarius, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom in the fourth century, Isidore of Pelusium and perhaps Clement of Alexandria in the fifth.

(16) LUKE x. 42. "One thing is needful." This solemn speech of our Divine Master has shaken many a pulpit and sanctified many a life. No nobler sermon was ever preached upon it than that by S. Augustine which he sums up in the emphatic comment "the toil for many things passeth away, the love of the one thing abideth." Our Lord's language may well have shocked the timorous by its uncompromising exclusiveness, much as Matt. v. 22 might do (p. 121), but it almost moves our indignation to see it diluted

into the feeble paraphrase[1] of Codd. ℵBL, the very ancient second hand of C (p. 63), 1. 33, "there is need of few things, or [rather] of one," where ℵ omits "need" in its blundering fashion (p. 41). With these agree the Memphitic, Æthiopic, and margin of the Philoxenian version, Jerome, and Origen as cited in a *catena* or commentary by various hands. One ordinary cursive, the Jerusalem Syriac, and Cyril of Alexandria in his Syriac version, have only "there is need of few things," and so the Armenian nearly. The chief purely Latin authorities fail us here, inasmuch as Cod. D, with *a. b. e. ff*^{2}., Ambrose, and some others retain out of the whole passage no more than the words "Martha, Martha" (ver. 41), with or without the verb "thou art troubled."

So powerfully is this pregnant dictum supported by internal evidence, that we doubt not here to reject the testimony, not of Cod. D and the Latins only, but of the more formidable array which supports Cod. B. The Received text is that of Codd. AC, of all other uncials and cursives not before mentioned, of the Peshito and Cureton's Syriac (the latter so often an ally of D), of the Philoxenian text, of *g*^{1}. and others of the Old Latin, including *f.*, which is of a more recent type (p. 100), of the Vulgate or New Latin. Chrysostom, Augustine in two places, John Damascene and others

[1] Just as frigid a gloss, self-condemned one would suppose by its own wordy feebleness, is found in Codd. ℵBCΞ. 33. 157, copies of the Memphitic, the Philoxenian margin and Cyril of Alexandria in Luke vi. 48, where in the room of "for it had been founded upon the rock," they read "because it had been built well," the Æthiopic retaining both forms. It is not sufficient to say in defence of this poor stuff that the Received text is also that of Matt. vii. 25.

complete the list: S. Basil sides once in silence with the Received text, but once puts on the clause an ingenious comment, which may be best understood by assuming that he had before him the reading of Cod. B and its fellows.

(17) LUKE xi. 2, 4. The probability is so strong that the form of the Lord's Prayer here given, doubtless on a later and different occasion, should have been interpolated from that in Matt. vi. 9—13, that the authority produced for omitting no less than three clauses here, considerable in itself, is entitled to our deference also on other grounds. Instead of "Our Father, which art in heaven," we find simply "Father" in Codd. אBC. 1. 346 (but not its fellows, *see* p. 82 note), and four other good cursives, in two Old Latin copies (g^1. g^2.), nearly all those of the Vulgate Latin, and its follower the Armenian. Origen and various scholia after him expressly discriminate the fuller expression of the other Gospel from the short one here. For omitting "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth" (ver. 2), as also "but deliver us from evil" (ver. 4), we find in substance the same testimony, weakened in the former of these places (ver. 2) by the desertion of the first hand of Cod. א and one cursive, strengthened by the additional support of Cureton's Syriac, and another form of the Old Latin (ff^2.). In ver. 4, the evidence against the last clause is strongest of all. Although the Curetonian contains it, Cyril of Alexandria now echoes the express evidence of Origen and the scholiasts before referred to. Tertullian also, who in controversy with Marcion would use S. Luke's Gospel, cites none of the three doubtful

clauses, while Augustine expressly affirms that in this Evangelist the Lord's Prayer embraced but five petitions, in S. Matthew seven. The mass of copies and versions must yield in a case like this.

(18) LUKE xiv. 5. "Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit...?" For "ass" of the Received text, a vast array of imposing authorities substitutes "son," which in Greek is not very unlike it in form, and thus renders the Lord's question an example of bathos that is so tasteless as to be almost ludicrous, "Which of you shall have a son or an ox?"; not, be it observed, "a son, nay even an ox," for the original will bear no such means of evasion. The reference in the common text is, of course, to Ex. xxi. 33, the order of the words being changed from what stands there and in Ex. xxiii. 4, ch. xiii. 15 of this Gospel, because the argument here rises from the less esteemed animal to one more valuable. It is instructive to observe how hopelessly authorities of all ages and degrees of importance are divided on a point about which it might be thought that common sense would forbid even a moment's hesitation. For "son" may be alleged Codd. AB united (p. 55), ten lesser uncials, no less than 125 cursives cited by name (our y has "your son:" *see* p. 83), against Codd. אL (the usual allies of B), three other uncials, quite as many cursives as on the other side, and those of the best (1. 33, &c.). Cureton's Syriac and one cursive combine both readings "son or ox or ass"; one form of the Arabic with another cursive have "ox" only; one of Mr Burgon's Venice cursives has "son or ass," without "ox." Cod. C is unfortunately defective here, as it so often is when

we need it most, Cod. D has "sheep or ox," at any rate excluding "son." Versions are just as much at variance as Greek manuscripts. For "son" we can cite the Peshito (with its Persic imitator) and the Philoxenian Syriac, the Thebaic, the Old Latin *e. f. g.*, and some Slavonic manuscripts: for "ass" the Memphitic and Jerusalem Syriac, the three best codices of the Old Latin (*a. b. c.*) and two others, the Vulgate, Armenian, and Æthiopic ("his ox or ass"). The commentators, Titus of Bostra in the fourth century, Clement of Alexandria in the fifth, recognised and laboured to explain "son." Their expositions are followed by late writers, as Theophylact in the eleventh century, Euthymius Zigabenus in the twelfth, and the language of one or other of them is repeated in catenas and scholia set in the margin of some manuscripts, whose own text exhibits the adverse, and, in our judgment, the true reading.

(19) LUKE xxii. 43, 44. "And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground." No more grateful fruit of modern criticism can well be named, than the rescuing these verses, whose sacred words the devout reader of Scripture could so ill spare, from the doubt which once seemed to hang about them. They are not found in Codd. ABRT[1], 124 (in Cod. 13 only the first two words are by the first hand), nor in *f.* of the Old Latin,

[1] Cod. Borgianus (T), now in the Propaganda at Rome, is a small but precious fragment of 13 leaves or more (177 verses), with a Thebaic version on the left or opposite page, of the fifth century.

in perhaps the majority of Memphitic, in some Thebaic and Armenian copies. Cod. A, however, by affixing to the end of ver. 42, to which they cannot possibly belong, the proper Ammonian section and Eusebian canon (*see* pp. 127, 128, 153), shews that its scribe was acquainted with the passage. It is read in all other uncials and cursives, Codd. ℵDLQ 1 being the chief, in all the four Syriac versions (Cureton's omitting "from heaven"), in the Old Latin *a. b. c. e. ff*^{2}. *g*^{1}. *g*^{2}. and others, the Vulgate and Æthiopic, in some Memphitic, Thebaic, and Armenian manuscripts. It has been said that these verses are rejected in Cod. ℵ by a hand so ancient as to be little less authoritative than that of the first scribe, and certainly Tischendorf's language lends some countenance to the notion. I possess, however, through Mr Burgon's kindness, a photograph of the whole page, which exhibits rude slight curves at the beginning and end of the passage only, and points nearly invisible throughout, both as likely to have been scrawled fifty years since as fourteen hundred.

In the present case we are able to form such a reasonable judgment on the origin of the variation, as is seldom in our power. Cod. 69, the kinsman of 13. 124 named above (p. 82), transfers the two verses from their proper place so as to follow Matt. xxvi. 39, and they are thus found in the margin of Cod. C, set there by a later hand, C itself being defective in this place. Now when we look into Church Lectionaries, we discover that this is the position the two verses occupy in every one of them. They form a regular part of the late service for the Thursday in Holy Week (Matt. xxvi. 21—xxvii. 2),

and there, not elsewhere in lesson-books of the Gospels, do they occur: these lessons, be it remembered, were certainly settled in or before the fourth century. Hence it arises that in ordinary manuscripts adapted to liturgical use, as are so many of the later uncials and cursives, asterisks (*), or obeli (~), whose use was pretty much the same, were set in the margin to indicate the practice of passing them over in public reading. A scholion in the margin of one cursive states that some copies have them not, but pleads good authority in their behalf: one manuscript of the Philoxenian alleges in the margin that Gospels circulated at Alexandria did not contain them, the fact being that they are not found in Cyril's *Homilies* in Syriac, nor does Athanasius refer to them. Yet the evidence of the Fathers is early and express in their favour: namely, Justin Martyr (with rare precision) and Irenæus in the second century, Hippolytus and Dionysius of Alexandria in the third, Didymus and Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom in the fourth, Theodoret a little later. Hilary, on the other hand, in the fourth century, declared that the passage is wanting in very many codices Greek and Latin, an assertion which Jerome, as usual, repeats to the echo.

(20) LUKE xxiii. 34. "Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." No holy passage has been called into question on much slighter grounds than this one, so fraught with religious feeling, and approving itself to every true critical instinct. It is omitted by Codd. BD and two not very important cursives: one late uncial marks it with an asterisk. Here again Cod. ℵ seems to have

been touched by a recent hand, even more slightly than in ch. xxii. 43, 44: on the other side, the clause was brought into D by a writer of about the ninth century. To this scanty list against its genuineness must be added the two Old Latin copies *a. b.* (though doubtless the best of all), the Thebaic version, and two Memphitic manuscripts examined by Canon Lightfoot; eleven others exhibit the clause in their text, two more in the margin. All other manuscripts, uncials and cursives, have the passage without a vestige of suspicion: Codd. ℵACLQ. 1. 33. 69 and the rest, the four Syriac versions, the Old Latin codices *c. e. f. ff²*. &c., the Vulgate, Armenian and Æthiopic translations. As might have been anticipated, Patristic authorities in its favour are express, varied, and numerous: such are the dying words of S. James the Just, reported by Eusebius after Hegesippus "who lived," he says, "in the first succession to the Apostles"; Irenæus and Origen in their Latin versions; the Apostolic Constitutions twice, the Clementine Homilies, Chrysostom often, Hilary, Theodoret, John Damascene: it is also recognised in the canons of Eusebius. The difficulty really is to know how Cod. B and any Egyptian version came to omit the words; for as to Cod. D and certain Latins, there is quite a forest of short clauses not contained in them, in the last chapter of this Gospel, of the same kind as that noted in ch. x. 41, 42 (p. 147), as if they had followed some early recension wherein such additions were not yet inserted; an hypothesis (for it can be called no more) which we hazarded before when speaking of Matt. xvi. 2, 3 (p. 127).

(21) JOHN i. 18. "The only begotten Son, which

is in the bosom of the Father." Instead of "the only begotten Son" Tregelles, with Westcott and Hort, ventures to set in the text what Lachmann had long since placed in his margin, the startling novelty "God only begotten," an expression whose doctrinal importance is obvious, and which it will require much proof before we can persuade ourselves to accept it as genuine. The testimony in its behalf is at first sight very imposing, being Codd. ℵBC (by the first band) L. 33, Cod. ℵ also omitting "which is"; of the versions the Peshito and margin of the Philoxenian, the Roman Æthiopic, and a host of Fathers, some expressly, as Clement of Alexandria in the second century, Didymus and Epiphanius in the fourth; others by apparent reference, as Gregory of Nyssa. Of the Coptic versions, the Thebaic is defective here, the Memphitic reading what may either be "God" or "of God," probably the latter. The heretic Arius also upholds "God only begotten," which circumstance does not help to reconcile us to a term that reverential minds instinctively shrink from. For the Received text, since Cod. D is here wanting, can be produced among manuscripts Cod. A and the thirteen other uncials not yet enumerated, all cursives except 33, the Curetonian and Jerusalem Syriac, with the Philoxenian text, every copy of the Latin, the Georgian and Slavonic, the Armenian and one form of the Æthiopic, the Anglo-Saxon and Arabic. Of the Greeks Athanasius repeatedly and Chrysostom, all Latins from Tertullian downwards, make for "Son." Origen and Eusebius might be cited on both sides.

"The only begotten Son" is a term familiar to S. John (ch. iii. 16, 18; 1 John iv. 9); the alternative,

which one hardly likes to utter with the voice, occurs absolutely nowhere else. Bengel's canon (p. 114) might therefore seem applicable, and lead us to choose the harder expression, but that it is a rule which must have its limit somewhere, and has found it here. Every one must feel the new reading to be false, even though for the sake of consistency he may be forced to uphold it. We are bound by no such stern law, and note the present as a case wherein Cod. A and the mass of copies, well supported by versions, afford us a purer text than Codd. ℵBCL 33.

(22) John iii. 13. "The Son of man, which is in heaven." Here again we have nearly the same manuscript evidence as in the preceding passage supporting the novel reading, for removing from the text the weighty clause "which is in heaven," this being the most mysterious, yet one of the most glorious glimpses afforded to us in Scripture of the nature of the Redeemer on the side of His proper Divinity. Codd. CD are here lacking to us, but Codd. ℵBC. 33 omit the words, supported by a small fragment of the sixth century, now at St Petersburg, called by the critics T^b. Of the versions only the Æthiopic and one Memphitic manuscript are on this side. There is really no Patristic evidence to set up against the clause, for it can matter nothing that Eusebius might have cited it and did not. Silence in such a case is of little or no weight, as may appear from the circumstance that Cyril of Alexandria, who alleges the words once, passes them over once: Origen also (in the Latin) neglects them once, but quotes them twice, once very expressly. "Which is in heaven" appears in Cod. A

(with a very slight variation by the first hand), all other uncials and cursives, in all the rest of the versions, including the four Syriac, the Memphitic (the Thebaic here failing us), the Latin and Armenian. Among the Fathers it is quite a theological commonplace. Hippolytus (A.D. 220) draws from the passage its obvious doctrinal inference, wherein he is followed twice over by Hilary and after him by Epiphanius. In Dionysius of Alexandria and Novatian of the third century, Aphraates (A.D. 330), Didymus, Lucifer and Chrysostom of the fourth, Theodoret of the fifth, we have presented to us a consent of ecclesiastical writers, as we had before of versions, from every part of the Christian world, such as few impartial minds can resist. Beyond all doubt, the Received text in this instance rests on far surer ground than in ch. i. 18.

(23) JOHN v. 1. "After this there was a feast of the Jews." In S. John's Gospel we have clear notices of three several passovers (ch. ii. 13; vi. 4; xii. 1). Since "the feast of the Jews," even alone, would probably, almost certainly indeed, mean another passover, the second out of four during the Lord's ministry, it is well to know on what authority rests the definite article prefixed to "feast" in the Aldine fragment (John i.—vi.) published as early as 1504, as well as in the Complutensian, the first printed New Testament (1514), and upheld by Tischendorf, but which never found a place in the Received text, because it was not adopted by Erasmus. Internal evidence appears to be in abeyance here, and it must be confessed that manuscripts are very evenly balanced. For "the feast" we can cite Codd. ℵCLΔ, at least six other uncials, the

cursives Codd. 1. 33 and full fifty-four others, with the Memphitic and Thebaic versions, which alone of their class can be employed in regard to the article, since the Coptic language has both the definite and indefinite in use. Irenæus (in the Latin) insists on this being the second passover, but so does Cod. Λ (which reads "of unleavened bread" for "of the Jews") and another authority, although they omit the article. It is wanting in Codd. ABD and seven other uncials, in Cod. 69 and pretty many other cursives. Of the Fathers, Cyril of Alexandria varies, Origen looks doubtful, Chrysostom and Cyril once understand the feast as the Pentecost, and so would not read the article. With some hesitation we shall incline to take "the feast" as on the whole the more likely reading.

(24) JOHN v. 3, 4. The last clause of ver. 3 "waiting for the moving of the water" and the whole of ver. 4 are omitted, not without considerable reason, by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort. Codd. ℵBC (by the first hand) 157 and another cursive reject the whole; Cod. A (by the first hand) L and one recent cursive pass over the last clause of ver. 3, which certainly wears the semblance of a gloss: Codd. D. 33 do not contain ver. 4, and this alone is called into suspicion by means of asterisks or obeli (employed without much discrimination) in two uncials, nineteen cursives, the margin of the Philoxenian, and Armenian manuscripts. One other uncial has an asterisk in the margin throughout, but the passage is contained in C (by the third hand), in twelve uncials, (Cod. I, a fragment taken by Tischendorf to St Petersburg, alone being as old as the sixth century), and all known

cursives not before referred to, but all with that extreme variation in details which experience shews to be itself a symptom unfavourable to genuineness. The versions are not so unequally divided. The passage is absent from Cureton's Syriac, the Thebaic, thirteen of Canon Lightfoot's Memphitic manuscripts (three others, however, contain it in the text, two in the margin), from some Armenian codices, *f.* and others of the Old Latin and a few of the Vulgate. The Roman Æthiopic leaves out as much as the Philoxenian margin obelizes. The Peshito and Jerusalem Syriac, with the Philoxenian text, acknowledge the verses in full, as do nearly all the Latins. Tertullian, in particular, plainly speaks of the angel's interposition to stir the pool of *Bethsaida* (as it is in Cod. B, the Latin *c.*, and the Vulgate); Ambrose twice quotes the place: it was known to Didymus, to Chrysostom and Cyril, to Euthymius and Theophylact in later times. Nonnus, however, who made a metrical paraphrase of the Gospel history in the fifth century, does not touch an incident so well calculated to adorn his poem. The last clause of ver. 3 stands on a different footing from ver. 4, which Dean Alford regarded as "an insertion to complete what the narrative implied with reference to the popular belief." It is evident that the passage was known early, widely diffused, and extensively received: but it is well-nigh impossible, in the face of hostile evidence so ancient and varied, to regard it as a genuine portion of S. John's Gospel.

(25) JOHN vii. 8. "I go not up yet unto this feast." "Yet" is omitted by the critical editors Tischendorf and Tregelles, though Westcott and Hort are sufficiently satisfied with it to retain it in the text, placing the simple "not" in their margin. The latter reading must surely be the true one. This passage, as is well known, was one of several which provoked the "bark" of Porphyry, the most acute adversary encountered by Christianity in early times [d. 304]. "He said he would not go, yet did what he said he would not do:" thus Jerome represents Porphyry's objection to the conduct of our Lord, who on this ground is impeached of levity and fickleness. It is manifest, therefore, that both Porphyry the foe and Jerome the champion of our faith, must have read "not" in their copies: "not yet" would rather be a gentle intimation that what He would not do then, He would do hereafter. Accordingly we find "not" in Codd. ℵD, in four other uncial copies and three or four cursives, Codd. AC being both defective here: to these add Cureton's Syriac, the Memphitic, the best codices of the Old Latin (*a. b. c. e. ff*[2]., &c.), and Vulgate, the Armenian and Æthiopic, the Georgian and Slavonic, Anglo-Saxon and Persic. Thus also Epiphanius and Chrysostom in the fourth century, Cyril in the fifth, each of them feeling the difficulty, and meeting it in his own way. No hesitation would have been felt in adopting a reading, at once the harder in itself, and the only one that will suit the circumstances of the case, had not the wilful and palpable correction "not yet" been upheld by Codd. BLT (*see* p. 150, note), the mass of later uncials, all cursives save four, by the Peshito Syriac and the Arabic of Erpenius, which even in the Gospels is much moulded on it, by the Jerusalem and Philoxenian Syriac both text and margin, the

Thebaic, Gothic, a few Old Latin codices (as *f.*), and some of the Vulgate. Basil cites the same reading, but not, as it would seem, expressly. It is seldom that we can trace so clearly as in this instance the date and origin of an important corruption, which could not have arisen accidentally, but was rather the work of injudicious, if not of dishonest, zeal.

(26) JOHN vii. 53—viii. 11. The last passage which time will permit us to examine in the Gospels is the celebrated paragraph concerning the adulteress, which has been interposed between ch. vii. 52 and ch. viii. 12. We may broadly assert that modern critics have come to a unanimous, or almost unanimous, conclusion, first, that it does not belong to the place where it is usually read; secondly, that it is no idle fable, no vulgar forgery, but a genuine apostolic or primitive record of what actually took place. The state of the evidence is so utterly unlike what we have found or shall find elsewhere in the New Testament, that no other verdict than this can well be pronounced. As we saw in the text last considered, Codd. AC are defective just here, but by estimating the vacant room left by the lost leaves of each, it is quite certain that so long a passage as this one of twelve verses could not have been contained in them. Thus we can say that Codd. ℵABCT (*see* p. 150, note) omit them altogether; Codd. LΔ do the same, but leave a void space too small to hold them, before which space the first hand of Δ had begun to write ch. viii. 12. One other uncial also omits them (Cod. X at Munich, of the ninth or tenth century), yet "since this Codex is nothing but a commentary on the Gospel, as read in

public," to use Mr Burgon's language, it could not well do otherwise. Of cursive manuscripts no less than fifty-eight are cited as not containing the paragraph, although eight of them have it in a later hand; while three more omit ch. viii. 3—11, though not the three preceding verses. The passage (all or a part of it) is noted as doubtful by asterisks or obeli in five uncials and fifty-nine cursives, in the margin of many of which are scholia, explaining that the section so obelized is not in some, or in many, or in most, copies, but is acknowledged in the Apostolic Constitutions, whose genuineness the ancients did not question: other scholia note its absence from the commentaries of Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Next come the manuscripts which have the verses, though not in their present place. One cursive sets them after ch. vii. 36. The case of Ferrar's group (13. 69. 124. 346) has been stated before (p. 82), and that arrangement may be either supported or accounted for (as the case may be) by certain verbal similitudes subsisting between Luke xxi. 37, 38 and John viii. 1, 2 in the Greek. Cod. 1 and ten more cursives banish the whole paragraph to the end of S. John's Gospel: four or five others supply only ch. viii. 3—11 at the end, as if ch. vii. 53—viii. 2 were not doubtful. In Lectionaries the section was never read as a part of the lesson for the day of Pentecost, but was reserved for the Saints' days of penitent women, such as Theodora (Sept. 18), or Pelagia (Oct. 8). In the Jerusalem Syriac (*see* p. 94), the lesson for Pentecost ended at ch. viii. 2, ver. 3—11 being assigned to S. Euphemia's day (Sept. 16). Against this weight of hostile testimony we can oppose but Cod. D as the most ancient

which contains the passage in any shape, six later uncials, and 308 cursives expressly cited, mainly by Scholz. But here again (*see* p. 158), the variations of the manuscripts from Cod. D and from each other far exceed any thing of the kind observed elsewhere, and largely subtract from the authority which mere numbers might have lent to their united evidence.

With regard to the versions, the case of the Jerusalem Syriac has been stated. Neither the genuine Peshito nor the Philoxenian contain the paragraph, although it was forcibly brought into the former in Walton's or the London Polyglott (1657) from a manuscript (now lost) which belonged to Archbishop Ussher, and was inserted in the latter from another source: it is also found in a Syriac codex now at Paris, the respective additions being referred to Maras, Bishop of Amida, A.D. 622, and to the Abbot Mar Paulus. The twelve verses are not in the Thebaic, but in many, perhaps most, copies of the Memphitic, an unlooked-for result of Canon Lightfoot's recent enquiries. The Old Latin too is divided. The passage is wanting in *a. f.* and two others: in *b* the whole text from ch. vii. 44 to ch. viii. 12 has been wilfully erased; but *c. e. ff*². *g.* and others, together with the Vulgate in all its forms, retain the section, as do the Æthiopic, Slavonic, Anglo-Saxon, Arabic and Persic, whereof one copy transfers it to ch. x. It does not exist in the Gothic, or in the best Armenian codices or editions.

Of Patristic support also the passage is singularly void. As was mentioned by the scholia, the Apostolic Constitutions, a work in its existing shape dating from the third or fourth century, clearly allude to it; but it is overpassed most unaccountably by Chrysostom and

the younger Cyril. Euthymius Zigabenus in the twelfth century is the first of the Greeks to cite it in its place, yet even he declares that in the correct copies it is either not found at all or obelized, as being an interpolation and addition. Even when the history itself is named, as by Eusebius after Papias, it is regarded as an extract from the Gospel to the Hebrews, not as a portion of canonical Scripture. Add thereto, that it is not until the ninth century that we find the number of 18 Greek chapters in S. John increased to 19 by the insertion in manuscripts of ch. x, "concerning the adulteress."

Among the Latins, its place in so many copies of their vernacular translation procured it more general favour. Jerome declares that it was found in his time "in many Greek and Latin codices." Ambrose cites it, and Augustine complains of certain persons "of weak faith, or rather enemies of the true faith" who removed it from their copies (perhaps after the rude fashion seen in cod. *b*), "fearing, I suppose, that impunity for sin might be given to their women."

We are far from denying that the ethical scruple glanced at by Augustine was entirely without weight, and the absence of the paragraph from the lesson for the day of Pentecost probably favoured its omission from late codices accommodated, as most of them were, to ecclesiastical use; but the great preponderance of the best Greek manuscripts against it, the wide variations observed between the copies which contain it, the ambiguous verdict of the best translations, and the deep silence of the Greek Fathers about so remarkable a narrative, forbid our regarding this most interesting and beautiful section as originally, or of right, belonging to the place wherein it stands.

LECTURE VI.

DISCUSSION OF IMPORTANT PASSAGES IN THE PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WHICH FOLLOW THE GOSPELS.

In the preceding Lecture I brought before you some of the most interesting questions which have reference to the text of the Holy Gospels, selecting for your consideration out of a far greater number those passages which have been the subjects of the most anxious controversy, or which, by reason of their intrinsic importance, an intelligent student of the sacred Scriptures would most desire to examine and be instructed in. The same plan shall be followed in the present Lecture with regard to those books of the New Testament which follow the Gospels, not indeed in the order of the dates at which they were severally written, but according to the distribution of subjects and the arrangement of our common Bibles. Let us first take a few specimens from the last of the historical books, the Acts of the Apostles, more than one place of which (ch. viii. 37; xii. 25; xiii. 18) we have already submitted to your scrutiny (pp. 43, 73, 87).

(1) Acts xi. 20. "And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the

Lord Jesus." The careful scholars who made our Authorized version of the New Testament, departing in this respect from earlier English translators, and indeed from their own practice in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, attempted to imitate the Greek original by drawing a refined distinction between "Greeks" or *Hellenes* and "Grecians" or *Hellenistæ*. The two cognate words doubtless meant very different things. A Greek was either a Hellen by race, or a heathen by religion, so that S. Mark says of the poor woman whose daughter was healed that she was "a Greek, a Syrophœnician by nation" (ch. vii. 26): her worship was paganism, while by birth she was a Canaanite. The Hellenists, or Grecians, on the contrary, were born Jews, living in foreign lands, speaking the Greek as vernacular in the countries where they sojourned, using the Greek Septuagint version of the Hebrew Bible in the service of the synagogue: very probably they neither understood nor sought to understand any other. Now which of these very different orders of men is spoken of in the passage before us? The Received text has "Hellenistæ," our Authorized version renders "Grecians" accordingly. But it seems plain that the reading is erroneous, and that "Greeks," "Hellenes," should take its place. The context indeed hardly allows us a choice. Immediately after the call of the Gentiles to the privileges of the Gospel was acknowledged and acquiesced in by the brethren at Jerusalem (ver. 18), we read that some who had been scattered abroad years before, now went about preaching the word to Jews only. In this there was nothing new. There had been "Hellenists," that is, Greek-speaking Jews,

among them long since (ch. vi. 1), and to say that these were again preached to was not at all strange: the marvel is contained in ver. 20, with which we are now concerned. Translated closely this verse should run "But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also": ("also" conveying additional information), and preached too with such success in converting these heathen Greeks, that Gentile Christians first obtained at Antioch the name, no longer of Nazarenes (ch. xxiv. 5), but of Christians (ch. xi. 26). The meaning being thus clear, and the Received text mistaken, we enquire what authorities maintain the true reading? They are good in themselves, although few in number, being only Codd. AD (by the first hand), a single cursive, though that one of first-rate excellence, the Peshito Syriac, the Armenian, perhaps the Æthiopic. Some versions, as might have been expected, overlook entirely the difference between *Hellenes* and *Hellenists*, and are useless to us here: the Peshito, in the other two places where the term *Hellenist* occurs, has "Greek disciples" in ch. vi. 1, "those Jews who knew Greek" (a fair definition) in ch. ix. 29, but simply "Greeks" here. Eusebius also has "Greeks," and though Chrysostom's text reads "Hellenists," yet his commentary shews that he had "Hellenes" in the copy before him, all the more surely because he is perplexed how to expound it: his words are echoed by Œcumenius and Theophylact. Here then is a case wherein a few witnesses preserve the only reading that can be true against a large majority which vouch for the false.

"Hellenists" is found in BE, in D according to a rather late corrector, in the three more recent uncials, in all cursives save one (including even 13[1]. 61, *see* p. 83). Cod. C is defective here, and the wonderful blunder of Cod. ℵ ("Evangelists," p. 47) suggests the notion that its archetype agreed with B.

(2) Acts xiii. 32, 33. "The promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children." This reads smoothly enough as spoken by S. Paul to the Jews assembled in their synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia: when we come to look into the state of documentary evidence, it will appear too smooth to be true. For "us their children" we find "our children" in the five great uncials ℵABCD, but apparently in no cursive whatever, in the Vulgate version (one copy reading "your" for "our" by a familiar itacism, *see* p. 41), in the Æthiopic, in Hilary, Ambrose, and the Venerable Bede after their own Latin version. The Thebaic omits "us," the Memphitic "us their," the latter of which pronouns would in Greek be fully implied. The Received text is that of the third hand of C (which is no great authority), of Cod. E, for once in opposition to Bede (p. 72), of the three other uncials extant in this book, of all cursives, of the two Syriac (Peshito and Philoxenian, the other two having now failed us) and Armenian

[1] It unfortunately happens that cursive manuscripts which contain more than one portion of the New Testament have seldom the same numeral assigned to them throughout. Thus the great Cod. 33 of the Gospels (p. 80) in the Acts and Catholic Epistles is known as 13, in S. Paul as 17: the Leicester copy, 69 of the Gospels (p. 81) is called 31 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 37 in S. Paul, 14 in the Apocalypse.

versions, of the catenæ of the Fathers with Chrysostom and Theophylact. Of course Bengel's canon (p. 114) might here be brought into play, but the result is so harsh as to tempt us to suspect that the primitive reading of the passage was "unto us" simply, "their children" being annexed as a pertinent gloss. Thus would all variations be well accounted for (Canon v, p. 116), only that such a conclusion cannot be accepted as anything better than plausible conjecture in the face of the fact that "us" alone is read only in one cursive, and that one of no particular value.

(3) Acts xiii. 33. "As it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." The variation which commended itself to the acute and judicious Griesbach, and to several editors after him, is "the first psalm," and so, in fact, Erasmus deliberately chose to have it in his first published Greek Testament. No better example than this can well be given of the danger of taking up a reading because it is difficult (Canon 1, p. 114) when documentary evidence tells strongly against it. It is well known that the first and second Psalms, although they have little in common as regards style and tone, and were probably composed at different periods, were sometimes reckoned by the ancients as one, for which arrangement Bede assigns the fanciful reason that, beginning as it does with a beatitude "Blessed is the man," &c., the first Psalm would thus end with one: "Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." Now arises the question whether the Apostle, in using what is in our present Bibles Ps. ii. 7, has cited it as from the second Psalm or from the

first. For the word "second" of the common text, which with Westcott and Hort we are content to abide by, may be alleged (with some slight change in the order of the Greek) Codd. ℵABCE. 13. 61 (*see* p. 83), all other uncials and cursives, D only excepted, which has "first," in company with Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary (who enters into a long explanation of the matter), and certain Latin manuscripts known to Bede. Nor is the variation exclusively western, for Origen, Eusebius, and certain Greek catenæ maintain it also, Eusebius pronouncing, with reference to the beatitudes, that "whereas the sentiment was the same in both, it was no wonder that the Hebrews joined the two Psalms together." The fact is, that the practice of reckoning the two Psalms, now in conjunction, now separate, existed as early as Justin Martyr's time, whose Old Testament quotations are almost as loose as those in the New. There is no cause, therefore, here to follow Cod. D against all the rest of the manuscripts and versions.

(4) Acts xv. 34. "Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to abide there still." We have in this verse an addition to the text of the Acts which is condemned at once by the lack of sufficient external authority, and by the numerous variations of the form in which it appears in the copies that contain it. Indeed one can almost trace its growth, and in its existing shape (as Mill saw long since) it can be regarded as nothing else than a gloss brought in from the margin, designed to explain how Silas, notwithstanding his being sent away with Judas from Antioch to the Apostles at Jerusalem (ver. 33), was soon afterwards at hand,

ready to be chosen by S. Paul as a companion in travel (ver. 40). The verse is wholly wanting in Codd. ℵABE and three later uncials, in Codd. 31 (p. 167, note), 61 and full fifty-six other cursives: indeed it would scarcely have been admitted into the Received text at all, but that Erasmus found it, as he found ch. viii. 37 (p. 73), in the margin of quite a modern Basle cursive which he used. Of the versions it is absent from the Peshito Syriac (only that certain editors have thrust their own translation of the Greek into the text), from the Memphitic, Polyglott Arabic, the best copies of the Latin Vulgate (*am. fuld.*, see p. 103), and Slavonic: it is not found in Chrysostom's commentary, or in one form of Theophylact's. When it does appear, as we just said, it is instructive to note the several shapes that the verse gradually assumes. In Cod. C and many cursives (13 being among them) it runs "Notwithstanding it seemed good to Silas to await them": the Complutensian Polyglott and a few cursives virtually resemble Erasmus and the Received text, "to abide there still": thus it stands in the Thebaic (where we might not have looked for it), in the later Syriac with an asterisk (p. 93), in Erpenius' Arabic, Œcumenius' commentary, and one form of Theophylact's. Cod. D adds a new clause to the verse as given by Cod. C "but Judas went alone," and is followed by one or two Latin codices, some forms of the Armenian and Slavonic editions. Cassiodorus (of the sixth century) and Pope Clement's Vulgate add to all this one word more "But it pleased Silas to abide there; but Judas alone departed to Jerusalem." The Æthiopic has something different from them all, "And Paul per-

sisted in remaining," with or without a final "there." You know by this time what conclusion to draw from these glaring discrepancies in our authorities (*see* pp. 158, 162).

(5) Acts xvi. 7. "But the Spirit suffered them not." For "the Spirit," say rather, "the Spirit of Jesus"; the evidence in favour of this addition being so overwhelming that it is not easy to conjecture how it ever fell out of the text: "the Spirit of Christ" in Rom viii. 9 is a close and satisfactory parallel. The blessed name is read in Codd. ℵABDE, in the valuable second hand of C (p. 63), in Codd. 13. 31. 61 and six or more other cursives, in both Syriac, the Memphitic, the Vulgate (except a single copy), the Æthiopic, three codices of the Armenian. But this last version is quite unsettled on the point: two of its manuscripts read "Christ," as in the passage above cited from S. Paul; six "the Holy Spirit" with Epiphanius; three have nothing added to "Spirit." Cod. C and the dissenting copy of the Vulgate read "of the Lord"; but the catenæ, with Didymus and Cyril of Alexandria, are with the five great uncials. With the Received text side the three junior uncials here extant, the mass of the cursives, the Thebaic (again found with the moderns), Chrysostom and Theophylact. The whole clause is omitted in two ordinary cursives.

(6) Acts xx. 28. "To feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." Nothing but familiarity with these solemn words could prevent our feeling them to be very startling, yet the result of recent criticism has been to uphold them as they stand. Of the several various readings presented to us

by existing documents, only two can come into competition, namely, "the Church of God," and "the Church of the Lord," as seen in the extracts above given, pp. 58, 72: they differ in the abridged form of Greek writing only by a single letter ΘΥ (GD) and ΚΥ (LD). The Received text is maintained by Codd. ℵB, at least 14 cursives (but Cod. 61 is here defective), by every copy of the Latin Vulgate save that in the Complutensian Polyglott, which was probably altered from the parallel Greek, by three manuscripts of the Peshito Syriac and the Philoxenian text. The alternative "Lord" is stronger in numbers if not in real power: Codd. ACDE (and the Latin versions of the last two in spite of the Vulgate), sixteen cursives (including 13, the best surviving), some of the catenæ, the Memphitic, Thebaic, and Philoxenian margin, the Armenian, perhaps one form of the Æthiopic. Its other form, with most manuscripts and editions of the Peshito, Erpenius' Arabic (p. 176, note), Origen once, four copies of Athanasius, and Theodoret twice, read "Christ"; the Old Latin *m.* (p. 101) "the Lord Christ." Not to mention other variations still more slightly countenanced, we come to "the Lord God," given by the great majority of Greek codices, namely, the third hand of C, the three later uncials, and considerably more than a hundred cursives. This is found in the Complutensian Polyglott, but in no version except the Slavonic, and no ecclesiastical writer before Theophylact in the eleventh century. It is manifestly a composite reading, devised for reconciling the two earlier "God" and "Lord," which alone deserve serious discussion, as between them the chief uncials are divided, ℵB on the one hand, ACDE

on the other. Here, therefore, is a case in which Patristic authority should have more than usual weight, and when we find that so bold a term as "the blood of God" occurs not only in Tertullian but in the purest text of Ignatius [A. D. 107], though afterwards softened into "Christ," we cannot help feeling that nothing short of the express language of Scripture could have brought it so early into vogue: even as it is, the precise expression was censured by Origen and others after him. Manuscripts of Athanasius fluctuate between "God," "the Lord" and "Christ," as do those of Chrysostom and Theophylact in part. Basil the Great and Epiphanius of the fourth century also prefer "God," with Ambrose and the Latins after their own version of Scripture. For "the Lord" the chief evidence would be that of Irenæus, only that he is here extant only in an old Latin translation (p. 108), and it has been alleged that the current of his argument proves that he had "God" in his Greek text. "Lord" is found too in the Apostolical Constitutions (p. 162), in Eusebius and Didymus, in Lucifer of Cagliari, Jerome and Augustine (the Latin Bible notwithstanding), all of the fourth century; possibly in Theodoret a little later. Ammonius (A.D. 220) is quoted in the catenæ to the same purport.

Where the choice is so difficult, internal considerations will be sure to determine the judgment of critics. It seems fair to say that all which uphold the combination "the Lord God" virtually make for the harder form, which alone could have given offence. There is force also in Dean Alford's remark that "the Church of the Lord" would have fully satisfied the

orthodox, and have laid them under no temptation to change it, whereas the alternative "the Church of God" would be sure to be tampered with by those whose opinions were absolutely incompatible with it.

(7) ACTS xxvii. 37. "And we were in all in the ship, two hundred threescore and sixteen souls." Here Westcott and Hort have received for 276 the variation 76, placing the higher number in the margin. Their only support is Cod. B and the Thebaic version, which are not unfrequently together without other company. The change was plainly resorted to by those who were slow to believe that a heavy laden corn-ship (ver. 6, 18) would contain so many souls. But vessels of this kind were very large. One that found its way to the Piræus in Lucian's time (about A.D. 150), being driven out of its course from Alexandria to Italy, cannot be brought below 1300 tons burden; and no modern can easily conceive the wretched overcrowding of an ancient ship. Josephus, a year or two later (A.D. 63), was wrecked in the Adriatic with 600 on board. Add to this that S. Luke wishes to impress on us the fact that out of so large a party all were saved, whereas 76 would have been very few.

Of the rest of our authorities, Codd. ℵC (DE have now failed us), three later uncials and all cursives save one have 276; A reads 275; Cod. 31 (the Leicester copy) 270; one form of the Æthiopic "about 206," the Memphitic in one codex 176, in another the incredible number 876. Epiphanius comes nearest to Cod. B "about 70": for the more specific 76 "about" would be less suited.

The source of all these variations is, beyond question, the habit of expressing numbers in ancient documents by letters used as figures. Of this practice, once very prevalent, many traces remain in surviving copies, such as ℵD and others. Irenæus recognises it when treating of the number of the beast, whether 666 or 616 (Rev. xiii. 18), in a passage we have already referred to (p. 110). It is no doubt the source of many discrepancies observed in parallel portions of the Old Testament. Here the omission or insertion of a single letter (ω: *omega*) would make all the difference between "276" (coϛ) and "about 76" (ωcoϛ).

(8) ROM. v. 1. "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God." The closer the context of this passage is examined, the plainer it will appear that inference from preceding statements, not vague or general exhortation, is the Apostle's purpose. Yet the majority of our best authorities, in the place of "we have" read "let us have," the difference between the two being the substitution of the long vowel *omega* for the short *omicron* (*see* p. 135). The hortatory form is adopted by Codd. ℵB (the former corrected by an early hand, the latter by one later) ACDE (but E of S. Paul is of no weight, p. 70), two other uncials, full thirty cursives (17. 37 being among them: *see* p. 167, note), the Peshito possibly, the Memphitic (the Thebaic is not extant), all forms of the Latin, the Æthiopic, the Arabic, and Chrysostom. The supporters of the indicative are Codd. FG (the rather as they oppose their own Latin versions), another uncial, and the great majority of the cursives, with Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria, and the Slavonic version. The printed

Philoxenian strangely combines both "let us have, we have." Here, of course, save for special reasons, no one would doubt to adopt the hortatory form, even though the resulting sense is so comparatively poor. We cannot help remembering, however, that although the *itacism* (p. 39) which substitutes the long *o* for the short, and the converse, is not so common in the most ancient copies as in later, yet no manuscripts are quite free from it, and we feel persuaded that the various reading in this verse has its origin in that fruitful source of error. In Heb. xii. 28, "we have grace," which is there quite inadmissible, has no mean support instead of "let us have" of the Received text. The case of 1 Cor. xv. 49 we will consider in its proper order.

(9) ROM. xiii. 9. "Thou shalt not bear false witness." The ninth commandment is omitted by Codd. ABD(E)FG, one later uncial, thirty-four cursives at least, including 17 (*see* p. 167, note) and 47 (an excellent Bodleian cursive, recently collated anew by Tregelles), by the Peshito Syriac and Erpenius' Arabic[1] (which sets the sixth commandment before the seventh), the Thebaic (which omits the seventh also), by the best copies of the Vulgate version (*am. fuld.*, &c., p. 103), the Gothic, by Clement of Alexandria (twice), by Origen twice (but he has it once, and once omits "thou shalt not covet" also), by Cyril and Theodoret, by Augustine, Ambrose, and some other Latins; nor does it appear in the Complutensian

[1] This Arabic version, whatever independent value it may possess in the Gospels (pp. 106, 159), is in the Acts and Epistles a close rendering from the Peshito, and is of no use but to ascertain the true reading of the latter.

edition. Erasmus, however, brought it into the Received text, where it rests on the support of Cod. ℵ, of the single remaining later uncial, of the majority, as it would seem, of the cursives, including 37 (*see* p. 167, note): one cursive places it before the eighth commandment. Its retention is supported by the Philoxenian Syriac (wherein "thou shalt not covet" precedes), the Memphitic, the Clementine Vulgate and most of its manuscripts, some being good, the Armenian and Æthiopic. Chrysostom has the ninth, but omits the tenth commandment, and such constant variation would serve to shew that something is wrong (*see* p. 158).

The clause might very well have been lost by the *homœoteleuton see* p. (133), but on the other hand there is a natural tendency to enlarge a list like this (Canon II. p. 115) by the addition of a member which might seem to have been accidently overlooked. We must here, as often, prefer the Complutensian text to that edited by Erasmus.

(10) ROM. xvi. 5. "Epænetus, who is the first-fruits of Achaia unto Christ." But then the household of Stephanas was the first-fruits of Achaia (1 Cor. xvi. 15), and S. Paul is now writing from Corinth, the capital of that province (ver. 1, &c.). The latter circumstance seems to have suggested "Achaia" as an alternative reading, for "Asia" is no doubt that of the true text, being supported by Codd. ℵABCD (by the first hand) EFG, two good cursives, the Vulgate, Memphitic (the Thebaic being lost), Armenian, Æthiopic, Origen in the Latin, but very expressly, all Latin Fathers after their own version, and John Damascene. The evidence for "Achaia" is much weaker, namely the second hand of Cod. D, again

corrected by the third hand which E follows (p. 71), the two later uncials, nearly all the cursives (even 17. 37. 47), both Syriac versions, and one excellent manuscript of the Vulgate, with Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius and Theophylact. Where the five great codices are unanimous, as here, there can be no doubt that we are bound to follow them, even though their reading were not, as it is, intrinsically preferable; but the Peshito vouches for the antiquity of the variation "Achaia," and Codd. 17. 37 are not often found in opposition to the oldest uncials.

(11) ROM. xvi. 25—27. To what part of the Epistle to the Romans ought this noble doxology to be annexed? In the Received text, although it is set at the end, there are three other verses which, with more or less reason, have been regarded as suitable conclusions to this divine Epistle (ch. xv. 33; xvi. 20, 24)[1]; so that M. Rénan has propounded a theory which Canon Lightfoot has sufficiently disposed of, that we have here combined in one the endings of four several letters, addressed to four different Churches, each of them containing the first fourteen chapters nearly unchanged, with appropriate endings and personal allusions peculiar to each. It is enough to reply to this ingenious hypothesis that ch. xv. 33, whether with or without the final "Amen" (which is omitted in Codd. AFG, Greek and Latin, and three cursives), "Now the God of peace *be* with you all," occurs in the body of one (Phil. iv. 9), not at the end of another (2 Cor. xiii. 11) of S. Paul's letters, and so affords M. Rénan no

[1] "Thus *loth to depart* is the tune of all loving friends," is dear old Fuller's comment on the Apostle's reiterated farewells.

help; while with respect to the two similar verses in ch. xvi., no really ancient authorities recognise both. The chief of them (Codd. ℵABC), Origen, the Memphitic, Æthiopic, and best copies of the Vulgate (*am. fuld.*, &c., p. 103) put "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ *be* with you" at the end of ver. 20 and not at the end of ver. 24, whereas Codd. DEFG, not receiving it in ver. 20, retain it in the latter place. Thus we have forms of speech adapted for the close of this great Epistle in two places (ch. xvi. 20; 25—27), not in four.

But another complication now comes into view. The doxology comprised in ver. 25—27 is so completely in S. Paul's style and manner, that no one can doubt its authenticity, yet manuscripts and versions vary as to the position which it ought to occupy. In Codd. ℵBCDE, the Latin of F, with the Vulgate to which it belongs (p. 76), in the Peshito, Memphitic and Æthiopic versions, it is placed at the end, as in the Received text: in Cod. G (but not in its associate F, p. 75) there is a space about sufficient to contain it left at the end of ch. xiv., and there the three verses are found in one late uncial and in quite a large majority of the cursives (including Codd. 37. 47, *see* p. 176), as also in the Philoxenian Syriac and one form of the Arabic, in Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret and John Damascene; and this too although the connection between ch. xiv. and ch. xv. is manifestly of the closest nature. More remarkable still it is to find that Cod. A and another uncial, Cod. 17 the best of the cursives and one other, Armenian manuscripts and printed books, read the doxology in both positions. Origen especially records the fact that some copies had it at the close of

ch. xiv., others at the end of the Epistle, to which latter arrangement he seems to lean. In F it is wholly absent in both Greek and Latin after ch. xiv, in Greek after ch. xvi. 24. There is no space in Cod. G between "Amen" ch. xvi. 24 and the subscription to the Epistle.

All this variation points to something we cannot well understand, and the resuming in ch. xv. 1 of the subject treated of in ch. xiv. will serve to shew that the original documents which put the doxology in that situation must there have ended the letter. Hence it has been plausibly conjectured that S. Paul set forth this great treatise in two separate forms; the first addressed to the Roman Church, precisely in the shape we now have it; the other designed, like that to the Ephesians, for more general circulation, the two concluding chapters being now withheld, as being of local and passing interest. This supposition is countenanced by the fact that Cod. G omits the words "in Rome" in ch. i. 7, 15 (confirmed in ch. i. 7 by a marginal note of Cod. 47: *see* p. 176), just as in Eph. i. 1, "in Ephesus" is omitted in Codd. ℵB and the important second hand of one cursive (67). At any rate we may adopt this theory from Canon Lightfoot as a provisional expedient; although it may not be necessary, nor indeed most agreeable to the facts of the case, to deny that the doxology was included in S. Paul's earliest recension of the Epistle to the Romans.

(12) 1 Cor. xi. 24. "And when he had given thanks, he brake *it*, and said, Take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you." Here the participle "broken" is rejected by most modern critics on the weighty evidence of Codd. ℵABC. 17, and the second

hand of 67, with no other support than one form of the Armenian, Cyril of Alexandria and Fulgentius in the fifth century, and Theodoret's report of Athanasius. Cod. D, like its more celebrated namesake (p. 185), is rather fond of synonyms, and for "broken" reads "bruised" by the first hand. Every other authority besides the six afore-named manuscripts supplies something or other, for indeed the expression "which is for you," almost intolerably bald and harsh in Greek, would be impossible in any other language. Hence later hands in Codd. ℵCD (and consequently E, p. 71) have "broken," which is also read by Codd. FG and the three other uncials containing this chapter, by all cursives except the two afore-said, by both Syriac, the Gothic and the other Armenian, which was altered from the Latin. Of those Latin the parallel versions of Codd. DE have "which is broken," the interlinear renderings of Codd. FG "which shall be broken," but this is a difference of interpretation merely. More serious is the variation of the Latin Vulgate and Cyprian "which shall be delivered," and of the Memphitic "which is delivered." The Thebaic and Æthiopic again, with a manuscript of Euthalius (p. 70), support "which is given," manifestly derived from Luke xxii. 19. Theodoret knew both forms.

While the holy bread is often spoken of in the New Testament as "broken," the same expression is nowhere else applied to the Lord's body, and might seem to involve a superficial contradiction to John xix. 36: hence it may have been omitted from the very oldest manuscripts, and other words supplied, as early as Cyprian's age. Had not "broken" been for some reason avoided, it would naturally have been taken up

again from the former part of the verse: on the other hand, of course, it might be said, that it was conveyed into this clause from the preceding context. If any word must be brought in between "which is" and "for you"—and some word really seems indispensable —it cannot be any other than that in the Received text, which has the powerful support of the Peshito, the oldest document cited, of the Greek Fathers, as Basil, Athanasius (in spite of Theodoret's representation), and Chrysostom in the fourth century, of Euthalius in one manuscript, of John Damascene, Œcumenius and Theophylact. Add to this the fact that, in all forms of the Primitive Greek Liturgies known to us, "broken" occurs in the most sacred words of Institution. These Liturgies have probably come down unaltered from the fourth century, whatever changes they may have undergone in earlier times.

(13) 1 Cor. xv. 49. "As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." Thus the words stand in the Received text, admirably corresponding with the context, especially with the future tenses in ver. 51, 52. The itacism, however, which we noticed in Rom. v. 1 (p. 175) has exercised its influence here, in versions no less than in manuscripts of the Greek. The hortatory "let us bear" for "we shall bear" appears in Codd. ℵACD(E)FG, 17. 37. 47, three lesser uncials, the great majority of cursives which have been well collated, in the Complutensian Polyglott, the Memphitic, Vulgate, and Gothic versions, also in the Æthiopic according to Tregelles. Tertullian twice insists that we have here a precept, not a promise, and Chrysostom is express to the same

purport. Irenæus and Origen (each several times over, both in Greek and Latin), and in the fourth century Methodius and Epiphanius, Cæsarius and Gregory of Nyssa, with the Latin Fathers Hilary and Ambrose after Cyprian and the Latin version, Euthalius and Cyril (twice) in the fifth century, John Damascene in the eighth, all adopt the form "let us bear," to the sore injury of the sense. It may seem a bold measure, but I am persuaded it is the only safe one, to prefer the future tense to this accumulation of testimony against it from sources so various; but for once Cod. B and a comparatively small band of cursives maintain the correct reading, as does the Armenian version, and probably (not for certain) the two Syriac. Tischendorf adds the Æthiopic version, but I cannot tell whether he or Tregelles is right. Theodoret is decisive for the future, which Cyril of Alexandria has twice, as well as the other form twice. Photius in a catena states both sides of the question, Œcumenius and Theophylact are with Cod. B, whose influence we will strain for once (*but see* p. 49) that we may preserve the spirit of the Apostle's words.

(14) 1 Cor. xv. 51. The text of S. Paul's Epistles, taken generally, is much more free from various readings than any other part of the New Testament, and those that do occur seldom give much trouble to the critic. Here, however, we have a passage which has perplexed Biblical students from Jerome's time downwards: it has exercised, as some of you may remember, the keen judgment of Bp. Pearson, in his Exposition of the seventh Article of the Apostles' Creed. From the Received text the following divergencies are more or less

well supported: (a) "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." (b) "Not all of us shall sleep, but we shall all be changed." (c) "We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be changed." (d) "We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed." (e) "We shall all sleep, and the whole of us shall be changed." "Does not the first of these readings," asks Tregelles, "possess the best claim on our attention? For the connection is such that the Apostle immediately speaks of the 'we' who will not sleep, but will be changed when the trumpet sounds at the coming of the Lord[1]." Neglecting a slight Greek particle which has not been rendered in our Authorized version, what is virtually the Received text (a) is supported by Cod. B, the third hand of D and E which is derived from it (p. 71), the three later uncials containing the passage, by Codd. 37. 47, and nearly all cursives, by Origen, Theodore of Heraclea and Apollinarius, as cited by Jerome, by the two Syriac versions, the Memphitic (the Thebaic not being extant), the Gothic, and one form of the Æthiopic: the Old Latin *m.* (p. 101) also quotes the second clause without a negative. For (a), moreover, may be cited Ephraem (p. 60) and Cæsarius, Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom (often) in the fourth century, Euthalius and Theodoret in the fifth, Andreas of Cæsarea in the sixth, John Damascene in the eighth. The form (b) is supported only by Origen in the Greek and by some copies known to Jerome: it is probably no various reading, but a more explicit way of bringing out the true meaning of (a). The form (d) also will hardly enter into competition, since among manuscripts it is upheld only by the first

[1] *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, p. 191.

hand of D, whose proneness to synonyms reminds us of its namesake in the Gospels (p. 181), and by the Vulgate in every shape, even the parallel Latin versions in EF against their own Greek, by Tertullian and Hilary. Jerome and Augustine note it as read in the Latin manuscripts, but not in the Greek. Cod. A by the first hand stands alone for (e), which is apparently due to an error of the scribe in a single letter. The only formidable rival to (a) is (c), which is maintained by Codd. ℵCF (with an itacism) G. 17, by A also, if we make allowance for the transcriptural mistake. This reading is in substance the same as that in the margin of the Complutensian, and is discussed by Jerome, who alleges Didymus and Acacius in its favour: it appears too in Origen, as well as (a) and (b), so little consistency can be looked for in Patristic citations, unless they be very express. Cyril of Alexandria and the Greek copies known to Pelagius and Maximus vary in like manner between (a) and (c). For (c) are quoted the Armenian and one form of the Æthiopic version, but no Latin except the interlinear translation of G and that rendering set above the text of F which is derived from G (*see* p. 76).

Besides the manifest inferiority of (c) in regard to the sense, it is but weakly supported by versions and ecclesiastical writers. We prefer without hesitation the reading (a) of Cod. B and the great majority of critical authorities, bearing in mind the statement of Bp. Wordsworth of Lincoln: "The objection which was made by some in ancient times to the Received reading was, that the *wicked* would not be changed, namely, glorified; but S. Paul is here speaking only of the

resurrection of the *Just*." Thus men sought to evade a difficulty of their own making by such expedients as (c) and (d).

(15) PHIL. iii. 3. "For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit." The alternative reading, "which worship by (or "in") the Spirit of God," seems to yield a very inferior sense. The true circumcision to which we belong is one of the spirit, not of the letter (2 Cor. iii. 6), a meaning which the Received text brings out precisely, and from which its rival differs by only a single Greek character, through the change whereof it is made to glide from a perfectly intelligible though rare construction into the common-place formula "the Spirit of God." Yet such is the decision of our main critical authorities, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and the state of the evidence certainly goes far to justify their decision, although Griesbach clave to the common reading, doubtless as being the harder one (p. 114), and Mill boldly denounces the alteration as being made in ignorance of S. Paul's design. Here, therefore, we have internal considerations drawing us powerfully one way, and documentary testimony the other. "Worship God in the spirit" is found only in the first hand of D, the third hand of ℵ, one late uncial, a very few cursives of small account, the Peshito Syriac and the Philoxenian text, the Old Latin *m.*, the Vulgate, the Latin translations of DEF, the Gothic, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions. Chrysostom very clearly vouches for the same form, which is found in the Latin of Origen and some others. On the other hand, "by the Spirit of God" is read in Codd. ℵABC, the third hand of D (and consequently E, p. 71) FG, two other uncials, full a hundred cursives, including all the best, in the margin of the Philoxenian Syriac, the Memphitic (the Thebaic being defective), a single codex of the Vulgate, and the Latin of G, which is much conformed to its own Greek (p. 76), in Eusebius, Athanasius, a codex of Euthalius, Theodoret (sometimes), and John Damascene. Both Augustine and Ambrose, while they recognize the alternative as read by some or most of the Latin copies, declare that nearly all the Greek have the genitive form "the Spirit of God," as we actually find to be the case. Augustine suggests also "God the Spirit." It calls for some courage to resist the proposed change in this place, however unlikely we may feel it to be correct.

(16) COL. ii. 2. "To the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ":—rather render, "of God the Father and of Christ," even as the Received text stands. We put forward this interesting passage, rendered difficult only by the great variation in the text, as a good example of the canon (V., p. 116) which declares that reading to be the best, which most readily accounts for all the phenomena, and bears the appearance of being the original, from which all the rest were derived. This is here that supplied by the great Cod. B, which reads "the mystery of God *who is* Christ," or "of the God Christ," a form of speech somewhat countenanced by ch. i. 27, "this mystery...which is Christ;" yet more so by the text we have next to examine (1 Tim. iii. 16), if we could venture to lay any stress upon it. Cod. B is supported only by Hilary and Cyril (the latter having "God and" [or "even"] "Christ"). Its reading is approved by Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf in his last edition, and other good judges.

Another of our canons, which prescribes the choice of the shorter reading (II., p. 115), has been preferred for this place by Griesbach (whose critical tact is indeed very admirable, *see* p. 112), by Dean Alford, and afore-time by Tischendorf. This plan would make the verse end at "the mystery of God," and regard every thing after these words as mere surplusage and accretion. The additions to "God" are indeed manifold. Some (Cod. D, the Latin of Codd. DE, and Augustine) have "which is Christ" from ch. i. 27; others "God the Father of Christ," which is found in Codd. ℵAC, one cursive, one Arabic codex, and (on Griesbach's information, yet unconfirmed) in the Thebaic: thus also Codd. *am. fuld.* of the Vulgate (p. 103), and the Latin of F (the Greek of FG being lost), only that "Jesus" is annexed. No one variation is so well supported as this, but if it were true, how can we account for the divergencies from so simple and ordinary a form? The Received text "of God the Father and of Christ" cannot stand, as it has for it only the third hand of D (with E against its parallel Latin, *see* p. 71), two later uncials, the great mass of cursives, the Philoxenian Syriac, Theodoret, John Damascene, and some others. Lesser varieties may be named, but must not be allowed to perplex our ultimate decision: "of God in Christ" from Clement of Alexandria and a Latin writer of the third century: "of God who is in Christ" from the single cursive Cod. 17, to which one Armenian edition adds "Jesus," the other Armenian giving "God the Father in Christ Jesus." Lesser codices of the Vulgate vary strangely. In the Clementine edition we find "of God the Father, and of Christ Jesus," while two cursives, the Peshito Syriac, Arabic,

and Chrysostom, prefer "of God the Father, and of Christ," which confirms the Received text without being identical with it.

All these various modifications offer a common opposition to Griesbach's, or the shortest form, "the mystery of God," which is too slenderly supported to hold the ground against them. The passage is thus read in one late uncial, and about six cursives, of which 37 is good, the second hand of 67 (66 of the Acts) of decided value (p. 180). It were almost like guess-work to act upon testimony such as this, and we prefer to fall back on Cod. B in the last resort, noting this text to our readers as one that would be involved in hopeless confusion, if we possessed not the clue of internal evidence—that is, of common sense matured by experience, to guide us, however uncertainly, through the tangled maze.

(17) 1 Tim. iii. 16. "God was manifest (or rather "manifested") in the flesh." We have now come to a text which has proved the very torture of critics, and whose variations, significant though they be, appear to have arisen from no desire on any side to accommodate it to doctrinal predilections, but simply through a habit of ancient scribes, which we have had occasion to notice before (p. 58); that of abridging the sacred names after a fashion we should think unbecoming, and which in this instance has proved far from convenient. Between the Greek masculine relative "who" (OC) and the abbreviated form of "God" ($\overline{\Theta C}$) the difference is merely one of the presence or absence of two very thin horizontal lines, one within the O, the other over the two letters, and in manuscripts of remote date slight strokes like these are perpetually found obliterated

from mere age, where beyond doubt they once existed. Hence the original evidence of Codd. AC is quite doubtful between "God was manifested" and "who was manifested," though in their later condition it is indisputably the former, the question always being whether the more recent hand has changed the primitive reading, or merely renewed the decaying strokes. Respecting Cod. C I have said before (p. 62) all I know, and in respect to it the candid statement of its editor Tischendorf has rather increased the difficulty than tended to remove it. Cod. A has several times in the present generation been submitted to the closest examination with a view to ascertain its actual testimony. The leaf containing it has been handled carefully, no doubt, but so frequently, as to be in no good condition (*see* p. 52), and, seeing as we all must with our own eyes, I am sorry to have to say that my conclusion on the matter, namely that the two faint horizontal strokes of the first scribe yet underlie the coarser black lines of a far more recent one, is opposed to the decision of scholars I cannot name without deep respect, of Dr Ellicott the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and, as I believe but am not sure, of Dean Alford also. I can only plead that those who saw Cod. A when it first came into England, and was necessarily in a better state of preservation than now, formed the same opinion as I do. Such were its early collators, Young and Huish (p. 54); the illustrious editor of the New Testament (1707) John Mill, and that too contrary to his first prepossessions; Dr John Berriman, who, with four others, scrutinized the document when preparing his Lady Moyer Lectures in 1737; and C. G. Woide, who

himself edited this manuscript in 1786 (p. 55). As the case stands, neither of these first-rate uncials can be appealed to with confidence, which is the more unfortunate, inasmuch as we have now lost the help of Cod. B, which broke off, as you will remember, at Heb. ix. 14, that Epistle in ancient times often taking precedence of 1 Timothy (p. 27).

Cod. ℵ, however, speaks with no uncertain sound: for, although here also the corrector has been busy, yet his work is palpable and without disguise: above "who" (OC) of the first scribe, the two Greek letters (θε) necessary to be prefixed to OC in order to turn the relative into "God" are inserted above the line, with the proper accent (`), by a hand of about the twelfth century (Plate I., No. 12). The masculine relative also appears in Codd. FG beyond any reasonable doubt: the neuter relative (O), which is grammatically more correct, as agreeing with "mystery" preceding, is found in Cod. D by the first hand; but this is manifestly a corrupt variation from the masculine form, whose solecism in regard to construction pleads in its favour (Canon I., p. 114). The cursives which support the relative are but three, of which, however, 17 is one, and another is of high value (73, at Upsal). For "God," since Codd. AC are out of court, we have no better evidence than the three later uncials which contain this verse, and full 200 cursives, only that the Leicester codex 37, by placing O (here intended for the Greek article) before "God" abridged (Plate III., No. 11, line 1: *see* p. 81), makes an effort to combine the reading of Cod. D with that of later copies. Nor do versions uphold the case of the Received text. The Peshito Syriac and Philoxenian text, with

the Armenian, one form both of the Æthiopic, and the Arabic of Erpenius (p. 176, note), have a relative which may be either masculine or neuter. The Philoxenian margin probably, the Memphitic, Thebaic, Gothic, and the other Æthiopic certainly, favour the masculine relative: all Latin codices, even those of Codd. FG whose Greek is masculine, side with Cod. D, with Hilary and Augustine, for the neuter. "God" is found only in the Slavonic and Polyglott Arabic, which count for almost nothing.

In respect to the Fathers, the Received text makes a better stand. Ignatius, in his purest copies, speaks of "God being manifested as man," Hippolytus twice declares that "God was manifested in the body." In the fourth century Didymus and Gregory of Nyssa in all probability acknowledged it, as unquestionably did Theodoret, John Damascene, Œcumenius, Theophylact, at a later period. Chrysostom's manuscripts fluctuate in his commentary, though he elsewhere seems to refer to the common reading: the catenæ are hostile. Photius cites Gregory Thaumaturgus, of the third century, for "God." The masculine relative is upheld by Cyril of Alexandria (in spite of his printed editions), by Epiphanius (twice), and many others: nor is a text so important as this alleged in many places where it would fairly be looked for, though a negative argument should not be pressed too far.

On the whole, if Codd. AC be kept out of sight (and we know not how more light can be thrown on their testimony), this is one of the controversies which the discovery of Cod. ℵ ought to have closed, since it adds a first-rate uncial witness to a case already

very strong through the support of versions. Slowly and deliberately, yet in full confidence that God in other passages of His written word has sufficiently assured us of the Proper Divinity of His Incarnate Son, we have yielded up this clause as no longer tenable against the accumulated force of external evidence which has been brought against it.

(18) HEB. ii. 7. Whensoever a passage is cited from the Old Testament in the New, the tendency on the part of scribes is to enlarge the quotation rather than to compress it (Canon II. p. 115). Thus in Heb. xii. 20, "or thrust through with a dart," taken from Ex. xix. 13, rests on no adequate authority whatever. The last clause of the present verse, "and didst set him over the works of thy hands," though imbedded in the quotation from Ps. viii. 4—6, is rejected by Tischendorf, set within brackets by Lachmann and Tregelles. The middle place which it holds in the citation diminishes the presumption against its genuineness in the Epistle, and it seems pertinent enough to the argument: on the other hand, how came the words to be lost, if they were ever there? Internal evidence is thus equally divided: the external is perhaps less ambiguous. The clause is absent from Cod. B, from D by the third hand, E by the second, two later uncials, from 47 and full fifty or sixty cursives, from some manuscripts and editions of the Peshito, but not from Widmanstadt's (p. 90), from the Philoxenian text, the commentaries of Chrysostom, John Damascene, Œcumenius and Theophylact. It appears in Codd. ℵACDE (the first hand, which one would not suspect, *see* p. 71), M (*see* p. 77), and a later uncial (FG do not contain this Epistle), fewer cursives, but the best, as 17. 37. 137 and

its close ally, the Philoxenian margin (pp. 73, 93), the Vulgate, even that appended to Cod. F, the Memphitic, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions, with Eusebius, a manuscript of Euthalius, and Theodoret. One is content to retain a clause thus strongly attested.

(19) HEB. ii. 9. "That He by the grace of God should taste death for every man." We have here an important various reading, dwelt upon by Origen in the third century (he discusses it in no less than six places in his works), by Jerome in the fourth, by Theodoret in the fifth, at which last period Theodore of Mopsuestia, who lay under an ill repute among the orthodox, boldly charges them with corrupting the passage, by substituting what he deemed an unmeaning addition "by the grace of God" for the true text, "without" or "apart from God." Now "apart from God" is at present found in no manuscripts except Cod. M (p. 77) and that second hand of the cursive 67 to which we are indebted for so many excellent readings, resembling those of the best uncials. Among versions it is found only in some copies of the Peshito (including at least one of the best), and is cited by the Latins Ambrose (twice) in the fourth century, Fulgentius and Vigilius of Thapsus in the fifth, as well as by the Greek Anastasius the Abbot in the eighth. Here, then, we have a variation as old as Origen, yet one which cannot stand for a moment against Codd. ℵABCD and the rest.

I have called your attention to this almost forgotten reading for two reasons; the first being an ingenious and by no means unlikely conjecture as to its origin. It has been supposed that "apart from God" has been

transferred into the text of ver. 9 from the margin of ver. 8, where it was inserted as a seasonable gloss upon the words "he left nothing *that is* not put under him" (compare 1 Cor. xv. 27). This may be, and it is always interesting to be able to account for the existence of a strange corruption like the present. My second point is to shew by a plain proof that the variation was not, as Œcumenius and Theophylact suppose, the work of the followers of Nestorius. That they must be acquitted of so serious a charge is evident from the fact that the reading was known to Origen two centuries before the subtle heresy of Nestorius took its rise. Yet, upon the face of it, there was much to countenance the mistake: the arrogant language of Theodore of Mopsuestia; the existence of the false words in Nestorian copies of the Peshito, such as one of the eighth century in the British Museum (Rich, 7157), certain Syrian Churches being infected with that error down to the present hour; above all, the substance of the change itself: for no statement could better suit the Nestorian fiction that the Redeemer came with two separate Persons as well as two separate Natures, than the assertion that He suffered *apart from* his Divinity.

(20) HEB. iv. 2. "The word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard *it*." By a simple change in the case of the participle, the latter clause is made to run "not being mingled by faith with" (or, with the margin of our Bibles, *because they were not united by faith to*) "those that heard it"; mixed or mingled no longer agreeing with "the word," but with "them" immediately before it. It would be impossible to part with the common reading, the nomi-

native, without regret, for it is much the clearer, though, it must be confessed, it is not on that account the more probable (Canon I. p. 114). The accusative form ("them not being mingled") is adopted by Codd. ABCD(E)M, the three later uncials, 17. 37. 47, and the great mass of cursives, the Complutensian edition, the Memphitic, the best copies of the Vulgate (*am. fuld.*, &c., p. 103), the Latin of Cod. F, whose Greek is lost (p. 74), the Philoxenian Syriac, Armenian, and Æthiopic. To the same effect are cited the Latin of Irenæus in two manuscripts (but the Received reading stands in others), and Theodore of Mopsuestia expressly. So too Chrysostom, Theophylact, Œcumenius, and one or two more. Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret may be alleged on both sides. For the nominative, whereby "mixed" is in concord with "the word," the roll is but scanty: Cod. ℵ and quite a handful of cursives, the Latin versions of Codd. DE against the parallel Greek, the Clementine Vulgate and many good Vulgate manuscripts, only not the best, with Lucifer of Cagliari of the fourth century, whose Latin text is usually very pure; add to these the considerable help of the Peshito Syriac (very clearly), and of the Arabic of Erpenius (p. 176, note). Tischendorf here abides by the Received text, induced partly no doubt by deference to the Codex Sinaiticus, whose discovery will immortalize his name (p. 33), not that such prepossessions ought to have biassed his judgment in the least: partly by an opinion that to make satisfactory sense of the passage as corrected we must change "them that heard it" into "the things heard," for which further alteration the evidence is very feeble indeed.

(21) HEB. ix. 1. "Then verily the first *covenant* had

also ordinances of divine service." Our Authorized Bible of 1611 here has very rightly the word "*covenant*" in italic type, to shew that it is not found in the original at all, but is simply repeated from the last verses of the preceding chapter. The Complutensian Polyglott, however, and after its example the Greek text of Stephens (1550), and the English translations of Tyndale (1526) and Coverdale (1535), insert the word "tabernacle" instead, which was no doubt suggested by "the first tabernacle" in ver. 2. Our own Bible was saved from this error by following the edition of Beza (1589), which has no noun after "the first" in ver. 1, and in the Latin supplies the blank by the true word "*covenant*" in the proper type. Since "tabernacle" is read in no uncial manuscript whatsoever, and not in the best cursives (such as 17. 37), although, probably, in a majority of the whole mass (with 47), it ought undoubtedly to be removed from the Greek text. Only a copy of Euthalius and Theodoret can be alleged in its behalf, for the solitary version which supports "tabernacle," the Memphitic, must have meant it as an interpretation, not as representing a word read in the original.

(22) HEB. xi. 13. We noticed above a clause in this Epistle (ch. xii. 20) which rests on no adequate authority (p. 193), but which, being taken with its context from the Old Testament, can easily be accounted for. The same cannot be said for the words now before us, "and were persuaded of them," which first appeared in the Greek Testament of Erasmus (1516), were brought into the English Bible by Tyndale (1526), and have remained there ever since, not a single authority of any kind being known to support them, and the sense being

rather impeded than aided by their presence. Whence they came would be hard to say, except from an ordinary cursive at Basle (Cod. 7 of S. Paul), which internal evidence convinces me was much used by Erasmus, and which, in his elaborate edition of the Greek Testament (1751—2), its collator Wetstein does not quote as omitting the clause.

(23) JAMES ii. 18. "Yea, a man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works: shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works." One of the few marginal notes in our Authorized Bible which are concerned with various readings (*see* p. 86), is here inserted so as to make the sense quite opposite to that in the text, if not completely to destroy it: "some copies read [as an alternative to *without thy works*] *by thy works*." There is no real doubt that the marginal rendering is wrong, and that of the translators true, but the English student may like to know the precise merits of the case, and how, in a matter so evident, the marginal note was set there at all.

"Without," or rather "apart from thy works" is found in five out of the seven uncials which contain this Epistle, including Codd. ℵABC, in about fourteen cursives, including 13, 31 (*see* p. 167, note), and (what in such a matter ought to weigh considerably) in every known version, both Syriac, both Egyptian, *ff*¹. of the Old Latin, which contains St James, the Vulgate, Armenian, and Æthiopic. For "by" (which evidently sprang from the "by" immediately following) we know of no vouchers except two late uncials, nearly all the cursives, the marginal commentaries or catenæ, and Theophylact. If ever there was a case where a recent and improbable reading must be rejected for the intrinsically good one of all the ancients, such a case is the present.

What then the need of a marginal note? The fact is that our translators were doing what they seldom liked to venture on:—they were changing the Received Greek text which they usually accepted without question, to follow Beza's Greek Testaments of 1582, 1589, 1598 and the Vulgate. They knew that "by," however ill it suited the context, had appeared in every preceding English version, as well as in the editions of the Complutensians, of Erasmus, of Stephens (1550), and of Beza himself in 1565, and so they drew attention in the margin to their weighty and much-needed correction.

(24) 1 PET. iii. 15. As a result of our examination of 1 Tim. iii. 16 we felt compelled by the force of truth to withdraw, at least from controversial use, a great text on which modern theologians, though not perhaps ancient, have been wont to lay much stress. A critical enquiry into the present passage will produce the opposite effect of rendering available in the support of the orthodox faith what seemed previously to have no dogmatic value. "Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts" is the Received text, as in Isai. viii. 13, upon which S. Peter, after his well-known fashion, is moulding his own language. "Sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts" is the alternative reading, which we shall see good reason to adopt. "As the Apostle here applies to *Christ* language which in the Old Testament is made use of with reference to Jehovah, he clearly suggests the supreme godhead of our Redeemer," is the fair comment of Professor Alexander Roberts. Now "the Lord Christ" is found in Codd. ℵABC (only seven uncials

contain this Epistle); eight cursives, including Cod. 13, the best (*see* p. 167, note); both Syriac and both Egyptian versions, the Vulgate, Erpenius' Arabic, the Armenian nearly ("the same Lord and Christ"), Clement of Alexandria in the second, Fulgentius in the fifth century, Bede in the eighth. Against this phalanx we have nothing to set except the three later uncials, all the cursives (including 31, *see* p. 167, note) except nine, the Polyglott Arabic and Slavonic versions, Theophylact and Œcumenius—in fact nothing earlier than the ninth century. One Lectionary at Leyden, with its accompanying Arabic version, has "The Lord Jesus our Christ."

(25) 1 John ii. 23. The English reader's attention will have been directed to this verse by reason of its second member being printed in italics "*but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also,*" this being the only instance in the New Testament wherein variety of reading is thus indicated in the Authorized Bible of 1611, though later impressions exhibit the same device in John viii. 6 and elsewhere. The example had been set to our translators in what is called the "Great Bible" of 1539, and indeed the Greek words they render are even now no portion of the Received text, although Beza inserted them in his edition of 1582, pointing out at the same time this Apostle's habit of using antithetic clauses in his composition. Beyond doubt Beza is here right and those who omitted the clause mistaken, although the Complutensian Polyglott and Erasmus alike rejected it. The cause of its absence from some copies is easily perceived: it arose from that negligence of the scribes to which we have before given the technical name of *homœoteleuton* (p. 133) or "like

ending": each member of the verse terminating in Greek with the same three words. The italicised clause is strongly upheld also by external evidence, being found in five of the seven extant uncials (Codd. ℵ ABC being four of them), in at least 34 cursives (including Cod. 13 and other excellent copies), in both Syriac, in the Memphitic (perhaps too in the Thebaic), in the best codices of the Latin Vulgate (*am. fuld.*, p. 103 &c.) and its printed editions, in the Armenian, Æthiopic, and Erpenius' (not the Polyglott) Arabic versions. It is recognised by Origen (thrice), Eusebius, both Cyrils, Theophylact (but not Œcumenius). The Old Latin *m.* (p. 101), with Cyprian and Hilary, adopts "he that acknowledgeth the Son hath both the Son and the Father." We note this as an instance of the evil consequences ensuing on the exclusive adherence to modern Greek manuscripts upon the part of our earliest editors.

(26) 1 John v. 7, 8. We are here treading over the ashes of many a fiery debate, but the flame which once raged so fiercely is well-nigh extinct. It may be doubted whether a single person now living, who is capable of forming an intelligent judgment on critical subjects, believes or professes to believe in the genuineness of that interpolated gloss, familiarly known as the "Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses." Yet Mr Charles Forster's "New Plea" for its authenticity, published only seven years since, the ingenious and, as it proved, the last effort of a veteran scholar, is as full of life and vigour as any of its predecessors in that long controversy which gave rise to the trenchant "Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis" (1790), the best known, perhaps the ablest, work of one who was at once the

pride and the shame of the University of Cambridge, the profoundly learned, the acute, the scornful and overbearing Richard Porson. We shall here attempt nothing more than a brief summary of the facts of the case, but it will be such as shall leave no person at a loss as to the inference to be drawn from them. There can be no doubt that on the main issue Porson was right, Travis and Forster wrong.

"For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one." Such is the whole passage as it proceeded from the Apostle's pen. In our common Bibles we further read, after "bear witness" in ver. 7, what may have been originally a pious and innocent gloss on the genuine passage, first set in the margin, and afterwards intruded into the text, but which has no rightful place there on any principle that is capable of reasonable vindication. The two verses now run as follows, the supposititious words being placed within brackets for convenient guidance to the eye and mind:

"For there are three that bear witness [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,] the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one."

Here, no doubt, we may mark the antithesis, the opposition of the several members of parallel clauses, which we mentioned just now (1 John ii. 23) as characteristic of the sacred writer, and which perhaps helped to procure acceptance for the interpolation. It is right to say this much in its behalf, for there is almost nothing more that can be said.

Cod. C being defective from 1 John iv. 2 to 3 John 2, we have but six uncials (Codd. ℵAB and the three later) to take as our chief guides: not one of them shews a vestige of the words within brackets. The cursive copies which contain this chapter are at least 194, besides about 60 Lectionaries, or Church-lesson books: the bracketed passage appears in only three, and those of quite modern date. One of them, indeed (Cod. Ravianus at Berlin), is good for nothing, being a mere transcript from printed Greek Testaments, especially from the Complutensian. The same may apparently be said of a marginal note inserted by a very recent hand in a manuscript of the eleventh century now at Naples. The real authorities are thus reduced to two, one (Codex Ottobonianus, 162) in the Vatican, upon which, so far as it goes, no grave suspicion has been cast; the second at Trinity College, Dublin, which has not passed unchallenged. That at Rome is as late in age as the fifteenth century, and, like Cod. E of the Acts (*see* p. 71), has the Latin version on the same page with the Greek, and in the post of honour on the left. This passage has therefore been set in the Greek column of the Codex Ottobonianus, for the same reason as it was a little later in the Complutensian Polyglott, because it was already extant in the parallel Latin Vulgate; and they both bear the semblance, the Complutensian very decidedly, of having been actually translated from the Latin by their side. The Dublin manuscript, Codex Montfortianus (61 Gospels, 34 Acts, &c.), as it is called from a former owner, stands upon a different footing. When Erasmus published his first editions of the New Testament (1516, 1519), he was

censured for leaving out a passage which, as being found in their Latin Bibles, most of his readers were familiar with. His reply was that he could do no other than omit it, because he had never yet met with a Greek codex which contained it: whensoever he did meet with one, he would insert it from that copy. A transcript of the verses as read in "A British manuscript" found in England was sent to him before the publication of his third edition in 1522, and what he had sent him, he then gave his readers in its proper place. Now no "British manuscript" containing the bracketed words has ever been heard of unless it is that at present in Dublin, the earliest possessor of which that we can trace is Froy, a Franciscan friar, about the period of the Reformation. It is true that, besides another slight variation, Montfort's manuscript does not answer to Erasmus' description of the British one, in that, like the Complutensian and Vatican copies, it omits the last clause of ver. 8, "and the three agree in one," which, by his account, the British one contained. A great deal has been made of the discrepancy by those who deny the identity between the two: yet the supposition is obvious that the person, whosoever he was, that sent the paper to Erasmus, might have broken off after transcribing the disputed words, and neglected to note down the further variation immediately after them. We are willing to assume, then, that the British and Montfort codices are one and the same, and see no reason for suspecting that it was forged between 1519 and 1522 to answer a purpose: yet a manuscript like this, which could hardly be more than a century old when it thus came to light, which bears in parts a close resemblance to the Latin Vulgate,

and has been thought to have been transcribed, at least in the Apocalypse, from the Leicester codex (p. 81), can hardly be deemed of sufficient value or antiquity to bear adequate testimony to the existence of the passage in really important Greek documents.

When from manuscripts we come to versions and Fathers, the result may be stated in a word. The insertion belonged to the Latin branch of the Church, and to none other. Of the Greek Fathers not one has cited it, or made any reference to it that can be depended on, even when it might seem most required by his argument, and although he quotes consecutively the verses immediately before and after it. It has been unhappily thrust by editors into the printed Peshito version, but is not found in a single manuscript: it is not in the Philoxenian Syriac, the Memphitic, Thebaic, Æthiopic or Arabic, in any shape. Scarcely any Armenian codex has it, and only a few recent Slavonic copies. To the western Church it appertains exclusively, and here too it appears with that wide variation in the reading which has several times before been alleged as unfavourable to the genuineness of a passage which exhibits it (*see* p. 158). Mai's celebrated "Speculum" (*m.*); of the sixth or seventh century, representing the Old Latin, and about 49 out of every 50 extant codices of the Vulgate, contain it in some shape or other: yet even here it is missing in full fifty of the best Latin copies, including those principal ones *am. fuld.* (p. 103). Even the great Latin writers Hilary, Lucifer, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, all of the fourth century, know nothing of it. The Fathers who do allege it are chiefly Africans, as Tertullian in the second century not im-

possibly, Cyprian with greater likelihood in the third, Vigilius of Thapsus and Fulgentius of Ruspæ in the fifth or sixth. Nor have we much reason to doubt that Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage, late in the fifth century, pressed it into a confession of faith presented to the Arian Hunneric, king of the Vandals.

We have said before that it is perfectly gratuitous to allege fraud against those who introduced the Three Heavenly Witnesses by way of spiritual comment, first into the margin of this Epistle, then into the text. That it has no right to hold a place in the body of Scripture we regard as certain. It belongs not to the whole Christian Church, but to a single branch of it, and in early times only to one fruitful offshoot of that branch.

(27) Rev. xvi. 7. The Received text of the Book of the Revelation is far more widely removed from that of the best critical authorities than is the case in any other portion of the New Testament. This partly arises from real variations between the few primary authorities to which we have access in this portion of our critical labours, partly to the circumstance that Erasmus had access to only one Greek copy, and that a poor one (p. 80), while succeeding editors of this Book chose rather to follow Erasmus than the Complutensian Polyglott, which would have led them less astray. The general tendency of the readings of more recent codices has here been to suppress the broad Hebraisms of which the Apocalypse is full, to smooth the grammatical constructions of the Greek, to soften what is hard, and correct what is difficult; as if to prove beforehand Bengel's sweeping rule (p. 114), that the harsher

the reading the more likely it is to be true. A single example will shew our meaning as well as a multitude. "I heard the altar speak," writes the Apostle, "Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous *are* thy judgments." The altar, which the prophet from Judah apostrophised in the days of Jeroboam (1 Kings xiii. 2), is here represented by a yet bolder figure of impassioned poetry, as rejoicing in unison with the angel of the waters (ver. 5), in that God had avenged the blood of his saints and prophets which had been shed as it were thereupon (ch. vi. 9). This of course was above the comprehension of the later scribes, who, by interpolating two words, bring us down to the prosaic statement of the common text, "I heard another out of the altar." The corrupt "another out of," as is so repeatedly the case in the Apocalypse, rests in this precise shape on almost no authority at all. It is merely the consequence of Erasmus' following ordinary copies of the Latin Vulgate against his own solitary Cod. Reuchlini, which, omitting "another," retains still the feeble "out of" with the Complutensian and Cod. B of this book, a Vatican manuscript of the eighth or ninth century, beyond measure inferior to its great namesake. The commentator Andreas of the seventh century in some copies favours the latter form, while one other cursive makes for the paraphrase of the Memphitic and Æthiopic, "a voice from the altar." The best (*am.*, p. 103) and two or three other codices of the Vulgate have "another," or "another angel," but there is probably no Greek evidence whatever for "another." The true reading, "the altar saying" or "speaking," is maintained by the three great uncials which still

contain this book (Codd. ℵAC), by the only remaining one of later date except B, by every known cursive except Cod. 1, by *fuld.* (p. 103) and other good manuscripts of the Vulgate, by the Syriac (which, however, is no longer the Peshito, but a much later version), by the Armenian, by other copies of Andreas, and by Arethas of Cæsarea, who wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse in the tenth century, and points out therein the peculiar turn of expression, to which he gives the technical name of *synecdoche.*

You will easily understand that the passages which have been selected for examination in the course of the present and the last preceding Lectures form numerically but a very small portion of those whose readings have been brought into question by Biblical critics. They have been specially chosen from the mass, some for their novel or interesting character, most of them either for their unusual length or their intrinsic value. I can call to mind none that through pressure of time have been over-passed, which in gravity at all approach some of those you have been invited to consider. Now, if the case be thus, surely we are entitled to claim for the existing text of the Greek New Testament such moderate exemption from avoidable imperfections, such almost entire freedom from wilful corruption, as will enable us to use it with confidence both in our theological studies and in our devotional reading. You will not, I trust, be disposed to think slightingly of the science of Textual criticism, or deem it unworthy of attention

in an age when every one is trying to learn a little about everything; if, while instructing us in the processes whereby a yet purer and more correct Bible may be attained to, it assures us at the same time of the general integrity and perfect honesty of that Authorized version of the Holy Scriptures, which is the happy inheritance of English-speaking nations.

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